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RIJAN

Four Pages

MAHADEV DESAI

SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1942

[ONE ANNA

MAHATMAJI'S ARREST

Gandhiji woke up as usual at 4 a. m. for the morning prayer today, Sunday the 9th instant. He was about to proceed with his daily routine after the prayers when the news came that the Police Commissioner was at the gate and wanted to see Mr. Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's secretary. He brought with him warrants of arrest and detention under the Defence of India Rules for Gandhiji, Mr. Mahadev Desai and Miraben (Miss Slade). There were no similar orders for Mrs. Gandhi and Pyarelal, Gandhiji's other Secretary, but the Police Commissioner said he had instructions to take them with Gandhiji under the same terms if they chose to accompany him. But they decided not to. In reply to Gandhiji's enquiry, the Police Commissioner informed Mr. Mahadev Desai that they had half an hour in which to get ready. Gandhiji had his breakfast of goat milk and fruit juice as usual. His favourite hymn *Vaishnav Jan* was then sung by his party and the members of the Birla Family, his host. Verses from the Quran were recited by Amtulsalaam, a Muslim member of his Sevagram Ashram. He then left with a few personal belongings including his copy of Gita, Ashram hymn book, a copy of Quran, and Urdu Primer and his Dhanush-Takli for spinning. Before he boarded the car, he was garlanded and the auspicious *Kum-Kum* mark was put on his forehead by Mrs. R. D. Birla, the hostess. Messrs. R. D. Birla, G. D. Birla and other members of the family then bade farewell and he left with his usual smile accompanied by Mira Ben and the Police Commissioner in front car, while Mr. Mahadev Desai followed him in the second car in charge of a Superintendent of Police.

Before Gandhiji left, Mr. G. D. Birla entreated him not to be in a hurry to go on fast. Gandhiji assured him that he would not do so precipitately. He was as a matter of fact trying to resist the idea of the fast. But if a clear call came from within requiring him to embark upon it, he would not be able to resist it.

shall give you three clues, and you must
but the details. They are non-cooperation
the Government, non-violent resistance to the
Government, and propagation of the Congress
message.

Vinoba

English masters and Domestic Servants

Whether domestic servants may refuse to
English Masters?

A. They may refuse to serve (i) all govern-
ment officers, whether British or Indian, and (ii)
Britons, whose acts and expressions are
hostile to India's aspirations and the demand of
British withdrawal, and insulting towards her
leaders.

Rules of Conduct

- Q. Give us some rules of conduct.
- A. Put up with violence against yourself.
Do not use violence against person or property.
Shed fear of laws, harassments and tortures.
Do not break rules of good moral conduct.
Create solidarity, and unity amongst the masses.
Give up caste and communal differences and
ideas of high and low.
Base your social relations on terms of complete
equality of status.
Act as if the British Government has ceased
to exist for you; those coming to you as their
officers are not better than trespassers and
invaders. Resist them by all non-violent
methods.
Establish your own order.
Put your best effort to have Gandhiji restored
to us within a fortnight.

ram, 11-8-'42

K. G. Mashruwala

HARIJAN

August 16

1942

A FIFTH COLUMNIST GOVERNMENT

A few days ago somebody openly said in the Parliament that Lord Beaverbrooke might be a fifth columnist. I do not know how far he merited such uncharitable insinuation. But I feel certain that whoever is responsible for the arrest of Gandhiji and the Congress leaders is a suitable ground for fifth-column bacteria to breed upon for harming both Great Britain and India. For the fifth column is nurtured on the ill-will of the people against the ruling authority, and if those in power themselves generate the ill-will, nothing will prevent its downfall, and with it jeopardise also the life, safety and independence of its subjects.

I regret to feel that with all its development of scientific habits Britain does not perceive, what is so obvious to an ordinary villager of India, that it is not the piece of land extending from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin or the forty crores of its individual heads, that is the body and spirit of India, but that, in the present generation, India is embodied in the person of Gandhiji and Gandhiji alone. The forty crores are like so many cells of his body. Even when some of them are ill at ease amongst themselves or tend to fall away from him, as nails, or hairs, or blood from a wound, still it is Gandhiji who represents in his single person the aspirations and emotions and the conscious and sub-conscious thought-currents of the whole nation. He feels the laugh that India enjoys, and the groan of pains which India suffers. Whoever loses Gandhiji loses India with him, whoever gains him gains the whole country. The Indian who tears away from him only drops himself out like a falling hair. If the Government thinks that by winning away a few sections of the people, it can carry India with it, it may as well rape a lock of his hairs and feel that it has captured Gandhiji himself.

Gandhiji was brought up in a family of State servants. He zealously and credulously imbibed the hereditary trait of loyalty to the throne. His grandfather had served a prince almost to the end of his life. Suddenly he fell in his disfavour and had to seek service in another State. When he appeared before the new prince, he salaamed the prince with his left hand! On being asked the reason for this breach of etiquette, the old Gandhi said that the right hand could salute only the old master; and the new master should be satisfied with a left-hand salute! Gandhiji himself sang 'God Save the King' with greater fervour than the Englishman himself, until the time he was disillusioned. It was after this that he began to train himself for disaffection. But the habit of a life-time is not given up

Mr. Churchill has pronounced tears and troubles. He has found an able colleague, who will help him to good his promise. For, if Gandhiji's good-will India's good-will is lost, and with India's good-will gone, no better lot than tears and troubles is to be left for Great Britain — perhaps, for generations to come. I believe that the British masses — if not those who carry on this war trade — deserve better than their chosen representatives promise to them.

Sevagram, 10-8-'42

K. G. Mashruwala

GANDHIJI'S BIRTHDAY

The public have already seen the appeal to celebrate the next Khadi Week on the occasion of Gandhiji's 74th birthday (or completion of the 73rd year). Now that he is removed from our midst by an unwanted Government, which declares to the world that India is with it, and not with Gandhiji or the Congress, the public will take up the challenge and give a direct lie to the Government by making preparations from now on to celebrate Gandhiji's birthday and the Khadi Week on a scale, which will give a visible demonstration to the world of the position which Gandhiji occupies in the nation's heart. All sections of the people, men and women of all ages, will make the week an unprecedented success. They will spin, teach spinning, contribute liberally in yarn and in money, make a pledge of wearing khadi; they will read his life and his writings, try to understand and propagate his message; poets will sing him and his message, and dramatists represent these on the stage. Whatever decorations artists will make, they will be of khadi and village-made and hand-made articles. All castes and communities will intermix in a spirit of friendship and equality. If the nation will put in its fullest effort, with God's grace, it is possible that October 1st may become the starting point of a new era in the world.

Sevagram, 11-8-'42

K. G. Mashruwala

WORK*

the official Congress at Hindustani Talimi but the scheme after the new by the various provinces. its inaugura- in Central Bombay Presi- a few non- were 12 es, seven 00 schools Education.

between the basic and all other educational whereas hitherto the student knowledge and then sought to apply fields, here he began by engaging in and socially useful activity in the form basic craft and in the process of mastering it ated himself. This meant a complete revolution in teaching methods. The pioneers had to sail on an uncharted sea. Here were no text books or ready-made curricula of studies, no trained teachers to work the new method or previous experience to go by. The technique of co-related teaching itself had to be worked out in the first instance by individual experimentation and mutual collaboration. To this was added the apathy of not ill-concealed hostility on the part of Government officials, which became quite open as soon as the Congress Ministries resigned.

The Orissa Government for instance announced in its communique dated February 28, 1941, its decision to discontinue the basic schools on obviously disingenuous and specious grounds. The challenge was taken by Dr. Zakir Husain, who had no difficulty in exposing the glaring fallacies in the Orissa Government's communique. A full account of the controversy and the heroic struggle carried on by the protagonists of Wardha Scheme of basic education against the heavy odds facing them must be read in the 'Two years of Work', being the report of the Second Basic Education Conference held at Jamia Nagar in April 1941. The report also presents in a consolidated form the results of first two years of experiment and research in the technique of co-related teaching, while the story of the Basic education experiments in Champaran, Okhla, Hardwar, Vidya Mandir, Avidha and Priyanayakam Palayam recorded in the report will provide an illuminating commentary on the latent possibilities of basic crafts like spinning in riveting a child's attention and developing and educating his whole personality in a far more

Two years of work, Report of Second Basic Education Conference, Jamia Nagar, Delhi, April '41 published Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

effective manner than mere cramming the child's mind with more literary education under the old method. The inaugural address by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Presidential address by Dr. Zakir Hussein and the welcome address by Shri Arya Nayakam are some other high lights in the report which will amply repay perusal.

Pyarelal

Notes

Personal

Gandhiji, Mahadev Desai, Pyarelalji and Miraben having been all taken away from us by the Government, it has become my duty to see to the publication of the *Harijan* until God's will and the Nation's effort enable them to take over its charge again. I hope it will not take long. As it is, I am not quite sure of my capacity to do it successfully. The task of putting in sixteen columns of so much matter week by week is not a light one for me. I, therefore, request the reader to pardon my time management if he finds his ration cut down at times rather suddenly. Instead of somehow filling the paper with any stuff, it will be my concern to give him the best I can. Undoubtedly, I shall get the cooperation of all those other contributors, who are not touched by the Government, and have often contributed to the *Harijan* in the past. Of course, this assumes that I myself shall be kept free, and that the paper will not be banned. I do not know why it should not be so.

Sevagram 10-8-'42

K. G. M.

Quislingism

The secret circular just unearthed by Gandhiji mentions as one of the exploitable items for Government propaganda the point that out of more than half a dozen political institutions named in the circular, the Congress is the only organisation which is opposed to the functioning of the British Government in India. Perhaps the writer did not care to make the list exhaustive, otherwise he may have been able to make it up to 99. But let the Government beware of them. For all those who support one foreign Government will make the same haste to invite or present their cards to another, when they are convinced that it is impossible for the present incumbent to retain its position. I am afraid that at that moment also it will be left to the Congress to resist the new invader as single-handedly as it is its privilege now to expend its corrective energy against the present one. Quislingism is born out of love for power and special treatment and the desire to escape hardships and calls to sacrifice, and any Government—foreign or Swadeshi, old or new—is welcome to it, if it will promise these.

Sevagram, 10-8-'42

K. G. M.

Constructive Programme

Its Meaning and Place

By Gandhiji. Price As. 4. Postage 1 Anna extra.

Can be had at Navajivan Office, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad; 130 Princess St., Bombay; Surat and Rajkot.

POLICE AND PRISON OFFICERS AND MAGISTRATES

tongawala, at Wardha refused yesterday to his tonga to police officers, who wanted it for ng into custody some local workers. He was self arrested and let off after a few hours' ention. He had done his right duty. Every ongawala can do it.

But cannot every police and prison officer and Magistrate do it? Why should you obey an order of arresting, trying and confining persons, who are honourable members of society, and who, you are aware, are spending their lives out for freeing the nation? Surely Police and Prison departments have never been meant for arresting and imprisoning leaders like Gandhiji, Maulana Azad, Jawaharlalji, Rajendra Babu, Sardar Patel, Vinoba, your recent ministers, and hundreds of er eminent persons. You were called upon to gn your services in 1921. A few did but most you did not, but continued to be tools of the Government in repressing your own people. The Satyagrahis accepted the position as a tragic reality, and went into your custody as a matter of course. No ill-will was harboured against you, as long as you behaved in other respects decently even if not sympathetically. As a result, very often there were good relations between you and the Satyagrahis, in spite of the fact that you have always acted against the interests of the country. But surely you should act as thinking people and cease to be mere robots of your superiors. It is duty of all Indian officers to say to their ors, that they can no longer obey orders, n compel them to arrest, sentence and imprison r own patriots. Even foreign officers with

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Sevagram, 11-8-'42

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Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates—INLAND: One year, Rs. 5, six months, Rs. 3. FOREIGN: One year, Rs. 7 or 12 sh. or \$ 3

RIJAN

K. G. Mashruwala

AD - Sunday, August 23, 1942. (two annas)

short time they were bound to be disillusioned. But should I say that this was wishful thinking? I kept silent and allowed them to express themselves.

At about 10.30 p.m. a condolence telegram was received from Bombay followed shortly after by another from the Inspector General of Prisons, giving the bearest text

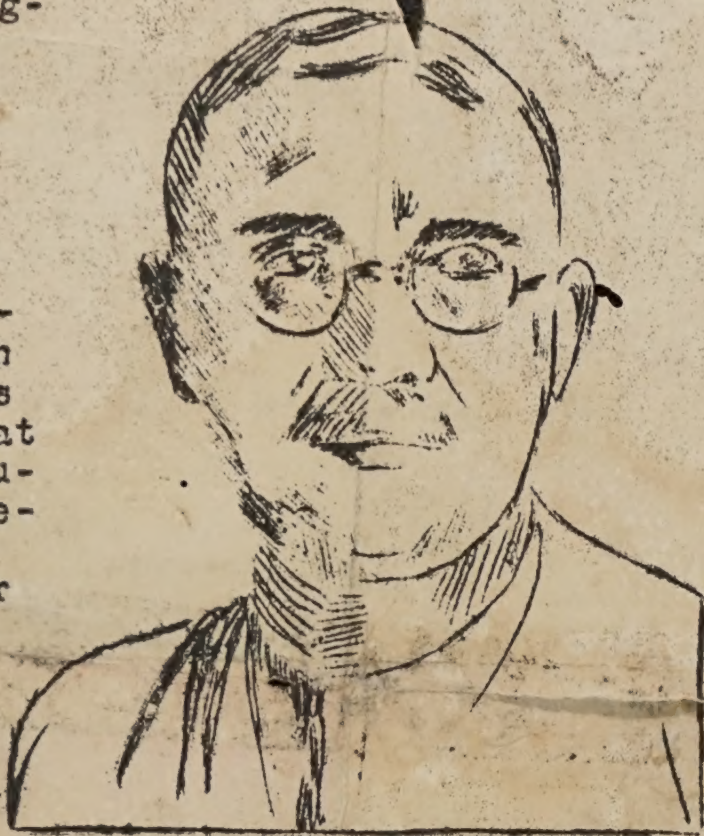
"Regret Mr. Mahadev Desai died suddenly this morning of heart failure - Prisons".

The telegram was despatched at 10.5 p.m. and yet does not say whether and how his body was disposed of subsequently. To the time of writing this there is no further information, as indeed there is none about Gandhiji himself. But even before this confirmation had come, the usual mental process had gone on and within a few minutes tears gushed out of their eyes involuntarily and the mother and son began

to assure and comfort one another. That though the information must be false, even if it were true, they should face it bravely - Narayan urging, "Father has died at a time and in a manner which are most enviable, and which we shall always remain proud of".

HE DID IT

At the time when Mahadevbhai was, unknown to us, expiring at Poona, some of us at Wardha were considering the local and general situation, and contemplating to take some steps involving risk to our own lives. But not being used to take quick decisions, and still less to take action, we thought and ruminated over deadly non-violent methods of creating the force which will make India Free. We thought and dispersed not knowing that at the other end, Mahadevbhai had already done it and finished his part of the programme. A satirist amongst us remarked light-heartedly that it was not given to everyone to die gloriously.



Late Shri Mahadev Desai

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M. Director
Genl of Prisons,
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minutes from the time when he
first complained of feeling unwell".

Though the information was fairly detailed the three or four persons who first got it were altogether unwilling to believe it, and pressed me not to break it immediately to Durgaben and Narayan (Mahadevbhai's wife and son respectively) frustrious attempts were made to register trunk calls, and at last it was decided that while telegraphic confirmation should be sought from the Prison authorities, the news should be communicated to the family as it was. For a long time they refused to believe it. Both of them urged "We are unable to feel the shock, which such news ought to give us. Hence we feel that it must be false". Others concurred. I was alone to feel otherwise. It was a difficult situation for me. Within a

HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. IX, No. 30]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, 1942,

[TWO ANNAS

UNSEEMLY IF TRUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Asaf Ali Saheb, President of the Delhi P. C. C. writes :

"The enclosed complaint was first brought up before the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee. The writer has now secured two supporters. I know the writer personally as a truthful and unbiased nationalist and I believe his word.

"I had heard of the *Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh* and its activities; and I also knew that it was a communal organisation. The slogan and the speech complained of have been brought to my notice for the first time. I can think of no means of counteracting the effect of such slogans and speeches on other communities, except inviting your attention to them. Perhaps you will take notice of it in the *Harijan*."

The complainant's letter is in Urdu. Its purport is that the organisation referred to in Asaf Ali Saheb's letter consisting of 3,000 members goes through a daily lathi drill which is followed by reciting the slogan, 'Hindustan belongs to Hindus and to nobody else.' This recital is followed by a brief discourse in which speakers say: 'Drive out the English first and then we shall subjugate the Muslims. If they do not listen, we shall kill them.' Taking the evidence at its face value, the slogan is wrong and the central theme of the discourse is worse. I can only hope that the slogan is unauthorised and that the speaker who is reported to have uttered the sentiments ascribed to him was no responsible person. The slogan is wrong and absurd, for Hindustan belongs to all those who are born and bred here and who have no other country to look to. Therefore, it belongs to Parsis, Beni Israels, to Indian Christians, Muslims and other non-Hindus as much as to Hindus. Free India will be no Hindu raj, it will be Indian raj based not on the majority of any religious sect or community but on the representatives of the whole people without distinction of religion. I can conceive a mixed majority putting the Hindus in a minority. They would be elected for their record of service and merits. Religion is a personal matter which should have no place in politics. It is in the unnatural condition of foreign domination that we have unnatural divisions according to religion. Foreign domination going, we shall laugh at our folly in having clung to false ideals and slogans.

The discourse referred to is surely vulgar. There is no question of 'driving out' the English. They cannot be driven out except by violence superior to theirs. The idea of killing the Muslims if they do not remain in subjection may have been all right in

bygone days; it has no meaning today. There is no force in the cry of driving out the English if the substitute is to be Hindu or any other domination. That will be no Swaraj. Self-government necessarily means government by the free and intelligent will of the people. I add the word 'intelligent' because, I hope that India will be predominantly non-violent. Members of society based on non-violence must all be so educated as to be able to think and act for themselves. If their thought and action be one, it will be because they are directed both to a common goal and common result even as the thought and action of a hundred men pulling a rope in one direction would be one.

I hope that those in charge of the *Swayam Sevak Sangh* will inquire into the complaint and take the necessary steps.

AN APPROPRIATE QUESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I take the following from the *Hindu*:

"The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial commenting on the Wardha resolution, says that the resolution suggested that if Britain would immediately withdraw, India would help her and the Allies to 'resist aggression'. In India, as here, it is being asked what is meant by 'resistance'. Would it be armed resistance or would it be 'resistance' of the kind which Mr. Gandhi has always advocated — non-violent non-cooperation? The text of the resolution ought to settle the question, but it does not. Pandit Nehru and some other Congress leaders have said that they themselves believe in offering armed resistance, provided that Britain makes the necessary political concessions. But Mr. Gandhi's belief is that Indians would most effectively 'resist' Japan and any other aggressor by pure non-violence. How is Britain to know what sort of 'resistance' the proposed Indian Government would organise, concludes the *Manchester Guardian*."

This is a good question. But who can speak for the proposed Indian Government? It must be clear that it won't be Congress Government; nor will it be Hindu Maha Sabha Government, nor Muslim League Government. It will be all India Government. It will be a government not backed by any military power unless the so-called military classes seize the opportunity and overawe the populace and declare themselves the Government as Franco has done. If they play the game then the proposed Government would be a government though provisional in the first instance, broad-based upon the will of the people. Let us assume that the military minded persons being without the backing of the powerful British arms will think wise not to seize power. The popular Government to be must represent Parsis, Jews, Indian Christians, Muslims and Hindus

not as separate religious groups but as Indians. The vast majority won't be believers in non-violence. The Congress does not believe in non-violence as a creed. Very few go to the extreme length I do as the *Manchester Guardian* properly puts it. The Maulana and Pandit Nehru 'believe in offering armed resistance'. And I may add so do many Congressmen. Therefore, whether in the country as a whole or in the Congress I shall be in a hopeless minority. But for me even if I find myself in a minority of one my course is clear. My non-violence is on its trial. I hope I shall come out unscathed through the ordeal. My faith in its efficacy is unflinching. If I could turn India, Great Britain, America and the rest of the world including the Axis Powers in the direction of non-violence I should do so. But that feat mere human effort cannot accomplish. That is in God's hands. For me 'I can but do or die'. Surely the *Manchester Guardian* does not fear the real article, genuine non-violence. Nobody does nor need.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

(The Congress Working Committee has passed the following resolution, which will be placed before the A. I. C. C. at Bombay, on August 7th.)

The All India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to the subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which has led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and colonial countries, and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern Imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the people of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the taint of that Imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

The A. I. C. C. therefore repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional government will be formed and Free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional government can only be formed by the cooperation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with the Allied powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The provisional government will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly which will prepare a constitution for the governance of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the allied nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their cooperation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the peoples' united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other colonial power.

While the A. I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the

future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and cooperate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

The Committee regretfully realises, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticisms of the foreign press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and criticism made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

The A. I. C. C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian government, which dominates over and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction, for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle

on non-violent lines on widest possible scale, so that the country might utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last twentytwo years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress committees can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

Lastly, whilst the A. I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India the A. I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.

CHARKHA JAYANTI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

'Gandhi Jayanti' is just a pretext, the real thing is Charkha Jayanti. Had there been no charkha, there would perhaps have been no Jayanti (Birthday) celebrations, and even if there had been such celebrations, they would have had little importance. There is no point in having birthday celebrations of any person without any definite end in view, otherwise they must be confined to just the innocent rejoicings of relatives and friends. But because Gandhi Jayanti has been turned into Charkha Jayanti—a great and comprehensive end—the celebration has assumed a national importance and comprehensive end in view.

The Charkha Sangh has decided to celebrate the Jayanti by collecting funds for khadi work, by enlisting self-spinners, and making yarn collections. In fixing up its programme it has had before it the example of Shri Narandas Gandhi's annual work in this direction. He and those who associate with him pledge themselves to do a certain amount of work each year, and he has had more and more success every year. There is no reason why such success should not attend the Charkha Sangh's efforts. Only it needs workers with a will to bring the work to fruition. Without khadi there may come a time when people may have to go without any clothing. Only the Charkha Sangh can prevent this catastrophe. I hope that all will cooperate with the Sangh in its noble endeavour.

Sevagram, 22-7-'42

(From *Khadi Jagat*)

HARIJAN

August 9

1942

TO AMERICAN FRIENDS

Dear Friends,

As I am supposed to be the spirit behind the much discussed and equally well abused resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on Independence, it has become necessary for me to explain my position. For I am not unknown to you. I have in America perhaps the largest number of friends in the West — not even excepting Great Britain. British friends knowing me personally are more discerning than the American. In America I suffer from the well known malady called hero worship. Good Dr. Holmes, until recently of the Unity Church of New York, without knowing me personally became my advertising agent. Some of the nice things he said about me I never knew myself. So I receive often embarrassing letters from America expecting me to perform miracles. Dr. Holmes was followed much later by the late Bishop Fisher who knew me personally in India. He very nearly dragged me to America but fates had ordained otherwise and I could not visit your vast and great country with its wonderful people.

Moreover, you have given me a teacher in Thoreau, who furnished me through his essay on the 'Duty of Civil Disobedience' scientific confirmation of what I was doing in South Africa. Great Britain gave me Ruskin, whose 'Unto This Last' transformed me overnight from a lawyer and city-dweller into a rustic living away from Durban on a farm, three miles from the nearest railway station and Russia gave me in Tolstoi, a teacher who furnished a reasoned basis for my non-violence. He blessed my movement in South Africa when it was still in its infancy and of whose wonderful possibilities I had yet to learn. It was he who had prophesied in his letter to me that I was leading a movement which was destined to bring a message of hope to the down-trodden people of the earth. So you will see that I have not approached the present task in any spirit of enmity to Great Britain and the West. After having imbibed and assimilated the message of 'Unto This Last', I could not be guilty of approving of Fascism or Nazism, whose cult is suppression of the individual and his liberty.

I invite you to read my formula of withdrawal or as it has been popularly called 'Quit India' with this background. You may not read into it more than the context warrants.

I claim to be a votary of truth from my childhood. It was the most natural thing to me. My prayerful search gave me the revealing maxim 'Truth is God' instead of the usual one 'God is Truth'. That maxim enables me to see God face to face as it were. I feel Him pervade every fibre of my being. With this Truth as witness between you and me, I assert that I would not have asked my country to invite Great Britain to withdraw

her rule over India, irrespective of any demand to the contrary, if I had not seen at once that for the sake of Great Britain and the Allied cause it was necessary for Britain boldly to perform the duty of freeing India from bondage. Without this essential act of tardy justice, Britain could not justify her position before the un murmuring World Conscience, which is there nevertheless. Singapore, Malaya and Burma taught me that the disaster must not be repeated in India. I make bold to say that it cannot be averted unless Britain trusts the people of India to use their liberty in favour of the Allied cause. By that supreme act of justice Britain would have taken away all cause for the seething discontent of India. She will turn the growing ill-will into active good-will. I submit that it is worth all the battleships and airships that your wonder working engineers and financial resources can produce.

I know that interested propaganda has filled your ears and eyes with distorted versions of the Congress position. I have been painted as a hypocrite and enemy of Britain under disguise. My demonstrable spirit of accommodation has been described as my inconsistency, proving me to be an utterly unreliable man. I am not going to burden this letter with proof in support of my assertions. If the credit I have enjoyed in America will not stand me in good stead, nothing I may argue in self-defence will carry conviction against the formidable but false propaganda that has poisoned American ears.

You have made common cause with Great Britain. You cannot therefore disown responsibility for anything that her representatives do in India. You will do a grievous wrong to the Allied cause, if you do not sift the truth from the chaff whilst there is yet time. Just think of it. Is there anything wrong in the Congress demanding unconditional recognition of India's Independence? It is being said, 'But this is not the time.' We say, 'This is the psychological moment for that recognition. For then and then only can there be irresistible opposition to Japanese aggression. It is of immense value to the Allied cause if it is also of equal value to India. The Congress has anticipated and provided for every possible difficulty in the way of recognition. I want you to look upon the immediate recognition of India's Independence as a war measure of first class magnitude.

I am
Your Friend,
M. K. Gandhi

On way to Bombay, 3-8-'42

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QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What Editors Can Do

Q. What do you expect the editors to do in the crisis that has overtaken us?

A. I am proud of the way the Indian Press as a whole has reacted to the Congress resolution. The acid test has yet to come. I hope that the Press will then fearlessly represent the national cause. It is better not to issue newspapers than to issue them under a feeling of suppression. At the same time I do not want them to be blind followers of the Congress and to endorse what their reason or conscience rebels against. The national cause will never suffer by honest criticism of national institutions and national policies. The danger to be guarded against is the inflaming of communal passions. The forthcoming movement will mean nothing if it does not end in bringing communal harmony and honourable peace with the British people. Whatever may be said to the contrary I maintain that the Congress policy has been framed in no hostile spirit against the British people. For the spirit behind the policy is wholly non-violent. I do hope, therefore, that the Press will warn those who have the nation's cause at heart against countenancing violence either against the British people or among ourselves. It must retard our progress towards our goal.

On the way to Bombay, 3-8-'42

World Federation

Q. Instead of striving for India's freedom why would you not strive for a far greater and nobler end—world federation? Surely that will automatically include India's freedom as the greater includes the less.

A. There is an obvious fallacy in this question. Federation is undoubtedly a greater and nobler end for free nations. It is a greater and nobler end for them to strive to promote federation than be self-centred, seeking only to preserve their own freedom. They are finding it difficult if not impossible for individuals to retain freedom without a combination. It has become a necessity while the war lasts and it would be good if they voluntarily pledge themselves now, to remain united even after the war. Defeat of any one member should make no difference. The survivors will not rest content till the defeated member is avenged. Still this won't be a world federation. It would be a mere defensive alliance between a certain combination. The very first step to a world federation is to recognise the freedom of conquered and exploited nations. Thus, India and Africa have to be freed. The second step would be to announce to and assure the aggressor powers, in the present instance, the Axis powers, that immediately the war ends, they will be recognised as members of the world federation in the same sense as the Allies. This presupposes an agreement among the members of the world federation as to the irreducible fundamentals. If this is not forthcoming, the federation will fall to pieces under the slightest strain. Therefore it has to come about voluntarily. I suggest that non-violence is the basis of voluntariness. It is because

of all the nations of the world India is the one nation which has a message, however limited and crude it may be, in that direction that it must have immediate freedom to enable it to play its part. You may not quote against me Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I know that they do not hold the view I hold on non-violence. When India gets her freedom the probability is that I shall no longer be wanted by any party and everybody would be war-mad. Nevertheless there will be, I am quite sure, a respectable number of votaries of non-violence who will make their contribution. But this subject is not germane to the question. Moreover, I am discussing that aspect more fully elsewhere. I hope you will agree with me that India, in seeking first to be free, is not retarding federation. It wants her freedom for the sake of the nations in distress, especially China and Russia and for the whole of humanity—in your language world-federation. You will also, I hope, see that no universal federation is possible without India becoming free now. It would be an earnest too of the Allied declarations.

What about Nepal?

Q. When India is free will she treat Nepal as an independent country that she is now or will she be annexed to Free India?

A. If I know India's mind at all, having tasted the bitter fruit of dependence, she will not want to annex or steal any country. She can have no imperial ambition. Nepal therefore will be an honoured and independent neighbour. I am not sure that Nepal is as independent as you think it is. But I do not know enough of Nepal to challenge your statement. I hope that you are wholly right. Sevagram

UNWORTHY PROPAGANDA

One can only hope that Sir Stafford Cripps in his broadcast to America spoke hastily and without full knowledge of what Gandhiji had been writing, or depended on extracts wrenched out of their context, wired out by Reuter from Gandhiji's writings and statements. For he has been unwittingly guilty of suggesting false things by suppressing the true. As he has devoted the address largely to Gandhiji and quoted a number of his statements I must at the risk of making this statement lengthy prove the truth of what I am saying. Thus he quotes Gandhiji as having said: 'anarchy is the only way.' I have looked in vain for this statement in his writings. All he said was: "If there is anarchy in India, Britain alone will be responsible not I. What I have said is that I would prefer anarchy to the present slavery and consequent impotence of India." (Gandhiji's reply to the *London Times*.) He also said: "Under my proposal, they have to leave India in God's hands—but in modern parlance, to anarchy, and that anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities. From these a true India will rise in the place of the false one we see." Again he said: "I have mentioned anarchy. It is a misnomer to call such rule as is established in India a rule which promotes the welfare of India. Therefore this ordered anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India, as a

result, I would risk it, though I believe, that 22 years of continuous effort at educating India along the lines of non-violence will not have gone in vain, and people will evolve real popular order out of chaos." The Working Committee's resolution paraphrased this when it said: "The Congress realises that there may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be taken by any country in order to achieve freedom, and more especially at the present critical juncture in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks and perils." He has said again and again that if Britain makes an orderly withdrawal, it should not be difficult for responsible men in India to bring into being a provisional Government. It is cruel distortion to assert that the Congress is manoeuvring to win party power out of the present crisis. As early as May 24th he wrote: "Sir Stafford Cripps could have asked either the Congress or the League to form the Cabinet. If he had done so, probably the party they entrusted with responsibility would have succeeded in having the cooperation of the other party. In any event Government would then have dealt with the real representatives of the people, rather than having their own nominees." This should apply with greater force after the orderly withdrawal that the Congress has asked for.

I wonder if Reuter thought it fit to wire to London the suggestion of the Congress President that the British Government should hand over charge to a representative organisation, be it the Muslim League or the Congress. The Congress would certainly not mind the charge being handed over to the Muslim League which may be trusted to form a provisional Government in consultation with other parties. All that the Congress wants is the freedom of India to be enjoyed by all the people. The other political parties do not want the continuance of the present dependent status. Their objection to the civil resistance programme cannot be taken to be an objection to the demand of the Congress. The Muslim League's claim to a division of India is not relevant in this connection but is only a matter of determination by a Free India when its constitution comes to be settled.

To charge Gandhiji or the Congress with contriving to 'thwart the United Nations' drive for victory' is to anticipate the result of a Civil Disobedience movement which would not be necessary, if the simple demand of the Congress is granted, and this demand is made with a view to ensuring speedy victory. Sir Stafford Cripps quotes a sentence from Gandhiji's article written on April 16, when he said: "American aid amounts in the end to American influence, if not American rule added to the British. If the British left India to her fate probably the Japanese would leave India alone." This was written before Gandhiji felt compelled to make the demand for withdrawal of the British Power. Since he made that suggestion, he has been dealing with the necessary incidence of withdrawal and has said again and again that the British and

American troops may operate from India in order to defend China and resist Japanese aggression, under a treaty entered into with Free India. "Free India simply becomes the ally of the Allied Powers, if only out of gratefulness for the payment of a debt, however overdue. Human nature thanks the debtor when he discharges the debt," he said in reply to a question by the representative of the Associated Press of America early in June. On June 14th he wrote: "Assuming that the national Government is formed and if it answers my expectations, its first act would be to enter into a treaty with the United Nations for defensive operations against aggressive powers, it being common cause that India will have nothing to do with any of the Fascist Powers and India would be morally bound to help the United Nations." Again he wrote in the *Harijan* of July 5th: "The Allied troops will be operating in India with the sole object of preventing Japanese attack. After all India is as much interested as the Allies in warding off the attack."

In face of these statements it is grossly unfair for one in Sir Stafford Cripps' position to quote what Gandhiji wrote in April last, and to suggest that he demanded that the British should walk out of India leaving the country without any constitutional form of Government, or that the Allied troops should be withdrawn from India. The worst that can be said about him is that he was inconsistent. His inconsistencies ought to be regarded as a powerful evidence of his reasonableness and readiness to correct errors and fill in omissions.

Some of Sir Stafford's statements cannot be explained away as hasty or made without full knowledge. For him to say that he had offered to put in immediate office a body of ministers like those who advise the American President is a travesty of fact. The position of the Cabinet of Ministers advising the American President is entirely different from the position of the ministers proposed to be set up by Sir Stafford Cripps to advise the Viceroy. However large the powers of the President of America, he is a duly elected representative of the people of America whereas the Viceroy is a British citizen appointed by the British Cabinet to rule over India with autocratic powers.

Nor will anybody be deceived by his statement that he had offered to the Indian people 'complete liberty to devise and set up their own form of Government'. It was a liberty coupled with the liberty given in advance to all the reactionary elements to destroy that liberty.

One may hope that Sir Stafford will realise that untruth besides doing an injustice to Gandhiji must ultimately harm the Allied cause. With the unlimited military strength behind him he may not mind the impotent rage of a wronged people. But as a humanitarian he may be expected to correct himself and tell the American public that the Congress demand far from containing anything that can injure war effort seeks to create the very conditions essential for Allied victory.

Sevagram, 30-7-'42

M. D.

WAYS OF NON-VIOLENT NON-COOPERATION

Ever since 1920 we are familiar with some of the ways of offering non-violent non-cooperation. These included boycott of all government institutions, services, and extended to the non-payment of taxes. They were directed against a foreign government in occupation of the country for years. The ways of non-cooperation to adopt against a new foreign invader would naturally differ in details. It would, as Gandhiji has said, extend to the refusal of food or water. All non-cooperation calculated to make the functioning of the enemy impossible has to be resorted to, within the limits of non-violence. Non-cooperation is an old remedy — as old as the hills. Members of caste organizations have organized it against their caste-fellows, often to almost unconscionable limits. Untouchability perhaps arose out of it, and it indicates the evil in which unwise, indiscreet, and unlimited use of it could result. As amongst members of the same national or social being its use can be of the most restricted and temporary character. It can come into natural, full and most effective play against those bent on making slaves of us, and then its use is limited, as I have said, only by non-violence.

The very first thing a foreign invader seeking to establish domination over and enslave the country needs labour, and it is in that respect that he should be confronted with stubborn resistance. Thus several million Poles are working as agricultural labourers in Germany, and labour conscription is being carried out by the Japanese on a staggering scale. Mr. Harrison Forman, writing in the *New York Times*, says that 'from 1936 to the present, more than 10,000,000 Chinese labourers and their families have been forced to go to Manchuria to participate in Japan's exploitation projects. . . . An example is given by the *Yung Pao*, puppet newspaper in Tientsin, which reveals that the Japanese conscripted 135,689 workers in the first six months of 1940 from Tientsin alone. Most of the labourers are obtained through sheer brute force. Whole villages are sometimes surrounded and all able-bodied farmers whisked off before any resistance can be offered.' It is here that non-cooperation can play a large part. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that moral subjection is far worse than physical, and that death should be always preferred to cooperation with the enemy.

A few of the forms successfully adopted in other countries in smaller but similar situations may be described here. Drew Pearson was in China a little before he visited India in 1923. The great strike of the Chinese sailors was going on at Hong Kong when he was there. He narrated to me the story of what he actually saw:

"They stopped the issue of railway tickets to the strikers to prevent them from going away. They marched on foot. Just where the British and Chinese boundaries met there were British soldiers ready with shot and shell, to shoot the strikers down. That spread a horror in the town. Every Chinaman — young or old, man, woman or child — struck work. The whites

were flabbergasted. Their women did not know cooking, and there were no Chinese cooks to be had. The women could not take care of their children, and there were no Chinese nurses to be had. There were no rikshawallas, no watermen. All business was at a standstill. The whites saw their helplessness and yielded, and the strike ended with 30 per cent increase in wages for the sailors. An English captain of a steamship in the Yangtse told me that once his ship came in collision with some Chinese boats which capsized. As soon as the ship cast anchor, all the Chinese workmen on board struck work; no cooks, no water-carriers; all shops closed. The strike was called off only on the captain agreeing to pay an indemnity of 10,000 dollars. The captain of an American steamship had, under similar circumstances, to pay as indemnity seven times as much . . . The Chinese know now that the only remedy against white exploiters is non-violent resistance — strikes."

Devere Allen in his book *The Fight for Peace* describes a strike in Germany which was equally triumphant and which is a still more striking example. 'German militarism, monarchism, nationalism and reaction died hard,' he writes. "In 1920 Dr. Kapp, the instrument of backward-looking forces bent on gaining control of the situation, organised a *putsch* (a secret drive) to take control of Berlin and thence to capture power throughout the nation. His effort failed, and as a commentator has said, 'the fact that it failed was momentous'." Why it failed and the conditions of its collapse are told vividly by Wilfred Wellock, a Labour Member of Parliament:

"I was staying in Berlin and I was living in the centre of the city. On a particular Friday night, quite unknown to anybody, a few thousand troops marched into Berlin and took possession of the city. During Saturday and Sunday a general strike was organized by the workers of Berlin, and it was the most complete general strike that has taken place in any part of the world. By Sunday evening that strike was in perfect order, and on Monday morning there was not a single service running; gas and electricity were cut off, water was allowed to run, but it was impossible to have any cooked food, and so on, for a period of four or five days, and the result was the government, who were previously opposed to a general strike were glad to welcome it as the only means of saving the situation. It did save the situation, and without a safety-valve of that kind any country is liable to be in a very queer street when certain situations arise. The result was that the following Thursday evening the whole action of the Kapp *putsch* fell to pieces, and terms were made. I stood on that Thursday evening in the Leipzigerstrasse at the foot of Wilhelmstrasse, and I watched a few thousand troops, according to the terms of the agreement, march out of the city, defeated by a defenceless mass of people who had operated a very successful general strike."

Another case of prolonged non-violent non-cooperation on a much bigger scale that I should like to mention here is that of the resistance in Ruhr. In December 1922 the Reparations Commission declared Germany in voluntary default in respect of timber deliveries and France claimed

that under clause 18 of the Treaty of Versailles this declaration entitled her to take separate action. 'Germany contended', says the writer of the *Encyclopaedia* article on Ruhr, 'that the occupation constituted a breach of the Treaty of Versailles and a military invasion of a defenceless country in time of peace. She decided to oppose it by every means except armed resistance.' The Coal Syndicate moved its seat from Essen to Hamburg, rendering it impossible for the French to get an insight into the system of production and despatch of coal and coke.

"The French declared officially that a peaceful mission of engineers had been despatched to Essen with a few troops to protect them. So great was the detestation of the Ruhr workers for militarism that no German troops had ever been stationed in the district; the men's leaders now declared that they would somehow make the French realise that bayonets were ill-adapted to coal-hewing. Three days later the French occupied Buer, Bochum, and Dortmund. The German government prohibited any further reparation deliveries or payments to the invading powers. On January 15th the first blood was shed when French sentries fired into a crowd, killing one man and wounding others. A military order to six directors of Thyssen's, Krupp's and other industrial concerns to deliver coal to France met with a refusal; the directors were arrested and tried by a court-martial which imposed heavy fines."

Giving details of the German resistance, the writer of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article proceeds:

"The French decided to break German obstinacy at all costs, but the more frequently the troops resorted to physical violence, the more the resistance stiffened. The German police now became openly hostile; they were frequently arrested and severely handled or deported. Telegraph and telephone operators refused to work for the invaders, and the French occupied their offices, cutting off the civil population from this means of communication. The railwaymen, in accordance with the orders of their government, also refused to work, and, as troops occupied each station, went on strike, so that gradually all railway traffic ceased except for a few military trains. By the end of the month, not a single ton of coal had reached France, and the resistance only stiffened as the mass arrests and deportations of Germans began. By the end of the Ruhr struggle several thousand persons had been imprisoned and heavily fined, and some 1,40,000 men, women and children summarily deported at a few hours' notice. Over one hundred Germans were killed by French and Belgian troops, who themselves lost a score through German violence. Those imprisoned often suffered severely; there were many authenticated instances of brutal treatment."

The difficulties in the way of maintaining the strike were great, as huge sums were spent on strike salaries and indemnifying those connected with the industry. It was a government fighting another government with non-violent resistance. The resistance was non-violent indeed, but it had to be supported by funds. Conditions in India may be vastly different, especially in war conditions. But there is enough patriotism in the land to muster moral strength to paralyse all departments that help

to maintain the existence of the invader.

In spite of the German government's insistence on non-violence there were stray acts of violence, e. g. derailment of running trains, bombs placed on running trains by saboteurs and so on. The French established a complete military and customs cordon, eminent citizens were forced to travel as hostages on French trains and so on. There was a severe embargo on migration from the occupied territory and 'the frontier was hermetically sealed.' Newspapers were suppressed and their editors deported. The chaotic state of German finance affected passive resistance which had to be stopped in September 1923. 'But the French slowly realised that though German resistance was broken, they had not established a lasting system.'

The struggle still went on, the French trying various new methods, but by November 1924 there was a total economic evacuation and military evacuation began in July 1925, the towns of Dusseldorf, Dinsburg, and Ruhrort being evacuated on August 5th.

"If ever—says Rene Gerin—there was an expedition which resembled an aggression, it was the invasion of the Ruhr ordered by Poincare. The result—because Germany organized a passive resistance—what was it but a painful defeat for France and a brilliant victory for Germany?"

What one has to remember is that in war repression would be ten times as severe as was resorted to by France, but if there is the will to suffer, the resourcefulness to devise ways and means on the lines indicated in these different instances of passive resistance, and above all the determination to drive out the invader, cost what it may, victory is certain. The vastness of our country, far from being a disadvantage, may be an advantage, as the invader would find it difficult to cope with resistance on a thousand and one fronts.

M. D.

Hindustani

Apropos of the work that is now being done by Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Kaka Saheb sends me the following excerpt from *Young India*, August 18th, 1921.

"So many Hindi-speaking friends have been anxious for me to make myself responsible for publishing a Hindi edition of the *Navajivan*.

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"I know that several translations in Hindi appear in different parts of India. But the desire has been to put under one cover an authorised free translation of selected articles from the *Navajivan* and *Young India*. This is now being done. The Hindi of the edition will really be Hindustani, a resultant of Hindi and Urdu—simple words understood by both Hindus and Musalmans. An attempt will be made to avoid ornamentation. Indeed I would love to give a simultaneous transcript in the Urdu character. But that cannot be as yet."

It reminds the readers and me that I expressed years ago the views I am now expressing and seeking to emphasize. The way to accomplish the end has been only now found, namely, that a large number of persons should speak and write Hindi and Urdu with equal facility. The forthcoming first examination will show how many have accepted the way.

Sevagram

M. K. G.

VANSITTARTS LET LOOSE

'Vansittartism' is a new word which has come into being recently. The Vansittarts look forward to a victorious peace and a new world order in which the British will remain prouder masters of their possessions and Germany will be more defeated and humbled than she was in 1918. Prof. Laski and others protest against this and say that while Mr. Churchill is justly out to destroy the power of Hitlerism, he will do nothing to 'destroy the forces out of which Hitlerism grew'; and yet they cannot brook India being made free from British domination during the war. So the Vansittarts do not mind these mild protests and merrily go on with the pursuit of their dreams. Mr. Amery who has now vowed vengeance against the Congress belongs to the tribe of Vansittarts which is not yet extinct, and so he said some days ago at the London University explaining why there were more students going in for the study of Japanese than any other oriental language:

"That is I think because they are so convinced (that) before long it will be their task to examine Japanese prisoners, whether in the countries we recover or in Japan itself. After the war a new world is going to open, a world in which we shall have great responsibilities — responsibilities of restoring and giving a new and richer life to the countries which have been under the British flag and which shall come back under that flag."

Let us compare with this grand passage a specimen of Mr. Churchill's oratory:

"So besotted is the man in his lust for blood and conquest, so blasting is the power he wields over the lives of Germans, that he even blurted out the other day that his armies would be better clothed and his locomotives better prepared for their second winter in Russia than they were for the first."

Even the devil must have his due. Why is Hitler besotted? Merely because he looks forward to his army being ready to withstand another fearful winter? What should be said then of Mr. Amery who thinks in terms of the conquest of Japan and reconquest of countries back under the British flag?

The Amerys and Churchills still think in terms of the British flag — the flag which Conrad Noel has called the 'Flag of Empire', inasmuch as it came into being in the year 1801 on the compulsory Union of Ireland with England, a union which Gladstone described as 'a case which, on the part of England or of those in authority, combined violence and fraud, baseness, tyranny and cruelty, in a degree rarely if ever paralleled in history.' Conrad Noel in describing the 'bloody' character of that Flag quotes Gooch and Mrs. Green and Lecky. Gooch wrote: 'If ever a statute has lacked moral validity it is the Act of Union of 1800. The Irish people were sold over the counter, and the methods by which a majority was secured, form perhaps the most disgraceful chapter in the modern history of Great Britain.' Mrs. Green wrote that 'the Act of Union was formed in the British Cabinet, unsolicited by the Irish Nation, passed in the middle of war, in the centre of a tremendous military force.' Lecky, a supporter of the British Empire, described

the measure as carried 'before it had been demanded by any section of Irish opinion, by gross corruption, in opposition to the majority of the free constituencies and the great preponderance of the unbribed intellect of Ireland.'

Mr. Amery must retain India under the British flag and maintain the Empire, disgrace or no disgrace, morality or no morality. That is the new world order he promised to his countrymen! M. D.

NOW OR NEVER

Some of the remarks of Lt. Col. S. T. Moore, Public Relations Officer, Army Air Forces in India, Burma, and China, before the Delhi Press Association should go a great way in helping us to understand the misunderstanding, misrepresentation, and anger that we find in almost every thing that has been wired out recently by Reuter, for our consumption, from the American press. Lt. Col. Moore said: 'The *Statesman* commented in a recent Sunday issue that probably most Americans get their ideas of India from Kipling. I think to a degree that is so

I am sure most intelligent Americans have knowledge and admiration for the spiritual qualities of your Mahatma Gandhi. I would further say that the practical political aspect of Indian affairs is patently too complicated for American judgment, and it is a matter of American military policy not to become involved in your internal political affairs.' One wishes those who set any store by American press comments realised the truth of these remarks. But whether they do or not, one cannot afford to be angry with these ignorant press comments. If the political aspect of Indian affairs is too complicated for American judgment one can understand Americans who have admiration for 'the spiritual qualities of Mahatma Gandhi' suddenly beginning to think that he is quite unspiritual when he is asking for full and immediate freedom of India. The complications are made much worse for them by propagandist broadcasts like those of Sir Stafford Cripps and tendentious reports sent out to America by an interested news agency.

But not all America thinks in that distorted way, not all America can be duped by British official broadcasts. Dr. Frank Laubach who was in India a little while ago, and who claims to 'know India better than the United States, (having) spent twenty-seven years of my life in the Far East', said, speaking at a large mass meeting in Duluth (Minnesota): 'What India wants is freedom now. And unless Churchill can be persuaded to stop parleying and give India that freedom, she will go over to the Axis. Even now Bose, number-three man in India is in Berlin broadcasting daily to the people of India to throw over the white man's selfish friendship and join the Axis. Nehru and Gandhi who alone can prevent that, have spent so many years in English jails that they are through with promises. The hour is desperately late.'

Dr. Laubach probably did not know details of Indian history since the outbreak of the war, how British statesmen have haggled with India, and how 'even in penance they have planned sins anew.' But he knows the Britisher to the fingertips and he

has a vivid knowledge of the impending danger. That is why he felt like warning the Americans that 'the greatest of the tragedies of history' should be averted. He proceeded: 'We have every right to urge our President to go 'all out' for Indian freedom. Churchill has recently told the world that he has been working from the beginning to bring America into the war on England's side and that the accomplishment of that goal outweighs all other gains since the start of the conflict. In view of the Nazi-Japanese menace to our freedom, that is as it should be. But unless we act now to influence him to grant India freedom we shall spend our man-power and treasure in the vain effort to hold England's subject peoples in bondage in defiance of the guarantees of the Atlantic Charter — and we shall probably lose the war!'

'Half the population of the world lives in Asia,' added Dr. Laubach. 'The reason Japan has had such easy sailing so far is that subject native populations have had no incentive to fight for the white man. The Philippines is the only country where the natives have felt like fighting. It is the only country where the white man has done a fairly good job for the native. Everywhere else the predatory rich white men have exploited their brown and yellow brothers while they made vague promises about the future. Gandhi and Nehru aren't interested in our new American Military Mission to India, unless we can help free impoverished India now.'

Some of those who attended the meeting referred to the Hindu Muslim problem. 'That problem,' said Dr. Laubach, 'can and must wait. The only thing that will swing India to the Allies is freedom now. Without that the war is already lost.'

It was, says the reporter, a tremendous meeting. They showered collection plates with one-dollar and five-dollar bills to pay for cablegrams to be sent to Mr. Churchill, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru, and a telegram to President Roosevelt. Here was the cablegram to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal:

'We share your faith in the invincible power of love. We want India freed and are working for that cause in England.'

The cablegram was never delivered to Gandhiji, and India was told nothing about that meeting held on March 12. The cablegram to Mr. Churchill said: 'Do not allow the words too little and too late to apply to India', and the telegram to President Roosevelt said: 'Please urge Britain to grant India the four freedoms immediately. Also transmit America's affection to Gandhi and Nehru and ask them what we can do to help India. In this crisis you must leave nothing undone. The hour is desperately late. The next two weeks may decide the fate of humanity for a thousand years. The words 'too little and too late' must not apply to India.'

President Roosevelt could not obviously transmit that message to Gandhiji or Jawaharlal, but he might have saved India the insult of the Cripps' proposals. The hour is desperately late, but the error can still be retrieved.

Sevagram, 31-7-'42

M. D.

DEMANDS OF MARWAR LOK PARISHAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following are the demands of the Marwar Lok Parishad in Jodhpur as supplied to me:

"1. The Government of Jodhpur shall reaffirm the terms of the compromise of 1940 arrived at between the Government and the Marwar Lok Parishad as a result of the last satyagrah movement in Marwar.

2. The Government shall see that rule of law is established in the State and more especially in the Jagiri areas and that full Civil Liberties (in terms of the agreement of 1940) are enjoyed by the Lok Parishad workers without any fear of intimidation or victimisation (i. e. physical violence or damage to property, etc.) at the hands of Jagirdars or their subordinates.

3. The New Reforms (Advisory Assembly) recently introduced shall immediately be scrapped and the Constitutional Reforms originally passed in the Council and assented to by His Highness the Maharaja shall instead be introduced as an earnest of further Constitutional development on the path to full Responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb Bahadur.

4. The Municipal Act (passed in 1940 but not yet enforced) shall be revised consistently with the growing needs and aspirations of the people and real Local Self-government shall be established with the peoples' representatives enjoying real powers.

5. Government shall make effective and satisfactory arrangements for regular Latai.

Note: In this connection mention must be made of the circular of the Government to the district officers ordering them to arrange for regular Latai at places where it was delayed. The circular was unfortunately withdrawn by the Government in 1941 thereby leaving the district authorities powerless and the cultivators at the mercy of the Jagirdars.

6. The exaction of illegal and unlawful cesses and other exactions shall immediately be stopped and proper arrangements shall forthwith be made to see that the practice is not resumed. In addition, the Government shall appoint a Commission of inquiry to go into the Jagiri problem as a whole to make necessary recommendations regarding the levy of various cesses, taxes and other exactions held lawful at present.

7. The Government shall immediately enforce the Registration of Arms Act in the case of Jagirdars also. The present policy of making invidious discrimination between the Jagirdar class, in whose case the date of registration is being postponed from month to month, and the rest of the people, who have been compelled to register their arms and secure licences for possessing them, is fraught with grave consequences for the internal peace and security of Marwar especially in these days of grave crisis.

8. An inquiry shall also be held into the following happenings:

(a) The excesses committed by the Jagirdars and their men on the Lok Parishad workers in the Jagirs of Chandawal, Ladnun, Roru etc.

(b) Ill-treatment meted out by the jail authorities to the political prisoners.

(c) The lathi charge and other excesses of the 19th June and the subsequent days."

There is nothing in the demands that one can cavil at. There is nothing extravagant in them. They take note of the limitations of Rajputana States whatever the cause thereof. It is for the compliance with these demands that Shri Jainarain Vyas and his companions are in jail and Bisa lost his life. It is for that reason that many Jodhpuris including women—a strange sight in Jodhpur—have resolved to offer civil disobedience. Let me hope that the Jodhpur Durbar will satisfy the moderate demands of the Parishad and let me further hope that the people of Jodhpur having resolved upon achieving their purpose through suffering will not rest till they have reached their immediate goal.

On way to Bombay, 2-8-'42

CASUAL NOTES

The Common Man in America

An American friend has addressed a strong letter of protest to the editor of the *Life* magazine against its remarks on the Chiang-Gandhi meeting in India as unworthy and unfair and thus writes to Gandhiji:

"I have read with intense interest of your recent conversation with certain newspaper correspondents and in particular with Mr. Steele. As an American myself I feel you are entirely right in your stand for India's freedom, but also your stand may and I hope will, give the necessary moral watchword to make the Allied cause successful. The average Allied soldier is moved hither and thither and told to fight for ideals which he is not at all convinced his leaders themselves embody or believe in. Therefore those ideals, have become so vitiated, intangible and so platitudinous that the soldiers and sailors unconsciously to themselves often lack the energetic will to victory.

"Please do not be upset by the American Press extracts reprinted in India. They pass through many hands. Omissions and deletions can easily make white into black. The hearts of most of the common men in America, I feel sure, respond to the cry for freedom which you continue to raise. In fact you are immensely benefiting the whole world by reiterating time and again that *freedom* is at stake."

The 'Communists' Position

The Communists, I am glad, have won *their* liberty. They deserved it, even if they had not paid for it the price of supporting the war-effort. But I wonder if they have won the liberty of India. They have not only foresworn their country's liberty but their own principles. Sir Ernest Benn, with special reference to Sir Stafford Cripps' broadcast in May said: 'It requires more mental agility than I possess to twist war—hitherto held up as a capitalistic device for the enslavement of workers—into the instrument by means of which the socialists' millenium is to be brought into being.'

But that is the result of the advent of Stalinism which means the acceptance of the theory that Socialism can be achieved by total war. Our Communists are playing into the hands of Sir Stafford and the British workers who are opposed to the independence of India and the colonies, for they fear that with their Independence the industries of

England would perish. The policy of the working class towards the colonies was discussed at the second Congress of the Communist International. In reply to the discussion Lenin said: 'I wanted to point out further the importance of revolutionary work of the Communist Parties not only in their own country, but among the soldiers which the exploiting nations use to hold the peoples of their colonies in subjection. Comrade Quelch of the British Socialist Party spoke about this in our commission. He declared that 'the rank and file English worker would count it treachery to help the enslaved peoples in their revolts against English rule'. That has been the bane of the European Socialists' Colonial policy since their Stuttgart meeting in 1907. Some of them openly said that 'Europe needs colonies. Without colonies we shall sink to the level of China,' and Ramsay MacDonald supported this cry. Lenin saw the evil clearly and he said: 'But a wide colonial policy has led to the European Proletariat party falling into such a position that the whole of society does *not* exist by its labour, but by the labour of the almost enslaved colonial slaves. The English bourgeoisie, for example, draws bigger revenues from the tens and hundreds of millions of the population of India and their other colonies than from the English workers. In such conditions in certain countries a material and economic basis is created for the poisoning of the proletariat of this or that country by colonial jingoism.'

'The Real Fifth Column in India'

The Indian section of the Fourth International realises this position and is therefore all out for immediate independence. Henry Judd describes the British as the 'real fifth column in India' and says: 'The probability of a successful military defense of India from Axis attack appears remote indeed. The British—the *real* fifth column in India—have by their actions cleared the way for an easy march of the Axis troops from Calcutta to Bombay. Certainly the numerous fiascos of the United Nations in the defense of their other ill-gotten colonial possessions in Asia would hardly stand up as encouragement for what will happen in India.' He then suggests a way of preventing the disaster of the Axis powers overrunning India:

"How can this disaster be prevented, even at this terribly late hour? Will the people of India have to pay with their lives and their blood for the two centuries of criminal British action? What is necessary is to find a way of shaking off the hand of British rule, and at the same time rallying the people of India in their own defense. The people of India must defend themselves through their own independent action and initiative against the power that rules them today and against the approaching Japanese bandits."

The Fourth International suggests a programme for a political struggle with the British, the formation of a Constituent Assembly, and fighting the Japanese. The two latter things, it will be seen, are possible only after a non-violent programme for demanding the British withdrawal.

Define Hypocrisy!

The Congress is being charged with hypocrisy, even by a British journal like the *New Statesman* which has throughout criticised most strongly the British policy in India. 'The Congress made its claim for India's independence,' it says, 'not merely in a form which Britain cannot accept, but in a form which it cannot have believed would be accepted', and then it charges the Congress with finding under Gandhiji's leadership 'negation and protest for ever congenial but shrinks from risks of power and responsibility'. It knows full well that there is no question of shrinking from these risks, for the simple reason that no one will offer them. And yet it is this same journal that said a little while ago that Britain has no title to India's loyalty. This is what it wrote on the arrest of the Burmese Premier U. Saw:

"To call this man (U. Saw) a Quisling is to invert the facts. On the evidence he is one of the least pro-Japanese of Burman politicians he appears to be a Burman patriot who offered on terms to forget that we conquered his country. We rejected his very modest conditions and he has presumably decided to ask whether Japan would do more. What is Britain's title to his 'loyalty'? That we drain away the natural riches of his country, teak, tin and oil? We owe the assurances he sought in vain to ourselves, his countrymen and all our allies. *What we owe to Burma we owe in even ampler measure to India.* By refusing to free dependencies, we feed the arsenals of Japan with political fuel as for years we fed them with aviation spirit (gasoline). Not so can Hitler be destroyed." (Italics mine)

But we shall be told, it was not immediate independence that was meant, it was independence at some future date!

The Glaring Contrast

Here is a news item taken from the *Searchlight*: 'Special hostels have lately been opened 'somewhere in Calcutta' to provide Eastern Army troops on leave in the city with accommodation for a brief holiday. The hostels have double advantage of being within financial reach of the soldiers and of being centres of recreation, where the residents find plenty of material for amusement and relaxation.

'The greater part of the recreation provided at these hostels is the result of voluntary financial assistance by the civilian population of India and is deeply appreciated by the troops. Soldiers returning from leave speak highly of the arrangements made at the hostels for their comfort and amusement; and a direct result of their popularity is an increasing demand by troops for a holiday-visit to Calcutta.'

Contrast with this the following extract from the report received from those who had been deputed to inquire into the grievances of some villagers who had been asked to vacate their houses for the construction of aerodromes:

'Out of 47 houses 17 have been demolished. No written notice was issued to owners of houses. An

announcement by beat of drum ordering to vacate the house within three days and forcible occupation and confiscation of removable property in case of noncompliance was threatened. On expiry of three days houses were seized and soon after levelled to the ground. The occupants were not offered any other place to live in nor any transport facility was given. Some of them after much difficulty shifted to some unknown place but the majority are staying with their women and children under the shade of trees in the neighbourhood without any protection from sun and rain.'

The obvious reasons for the contrast? The country belongs to the soldiers foreign or other, not to the poor villagers!

M. D.

Magan Dipa

Gram Udyoga Patrika is little known to the general public. It is the organ of the A. I. V. I. A. edited by Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa and published from Maganwadi. It contains solid reading matter for those who are interested in the revival of village industries. The worth of such writings is specially appreciated during these times when we are compelled more and more to rely upon what villages can supply. Thus we may have no paraffin for domestic use. We have very little even now. Maganwadi has produced a lamp which enables one to use the indigenous oils. The experiment that has so far succeeded refers to the use of sarso oil. The success is so gratifying that in Maganwadi only that oil is used for lighting purposes. The lantern is an adaptation of the usual hurricane article. Sri Satyan of the Nalwadi Ashram is its inventor. He is adopting these lanterns for dispatch as samples only. The current number of the Patrika is devoted solely to the Magan Dipa as the adapted lantern has been named. For the inventive faculty as applied to village tools and products is the special legacy of the late Maganlal Gandhi after whom the institution and the museum are named. For further particulars I must refer the curious reader to the Patrika which can be had on application to the manager, Maganwadi, Wardha. Sevagram, 2-8-'42

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. IX, No. 29]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST 2, 1942

[TWO ANNAS

FOR THE PRINCES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A kind of nervousness creeps over me as I think of the Princes of India, although I have the privilege of knowing many and some even intimately. My nervousness arises from the painful knowledge that they are a creation of the British rulers. Though some of them pre-existed before the British advent, their existence thereafter depended solely on British good-will, which in its turn depended upon the price the then incumbents paid for that commodity. The present incumbents are sole creation of the Imperial Power. Its simple frown can undo them.

But they need not feel so helpless if they could consider themselves as an integral part of the nation instead of being, as they are, an integral part of the Imperial machine. If the machine topples they may disappear unless they become part of and depend upon the nation.

The Empire is going either by the will of the British people or by the force of circumstances beyond their control. India shall not always be a slave country. Will the Princes march with the times or must they remain tied to the Imperial chariot-wheel? If they take their courage in both their hands and make common cause with the nation they can run the risk of dispossession.

This I admit is a heroic step. They can adopt the middle course. They may earn the good-will of their people by sharing their powers with them. They will never be able to retain their absolutism for all time. But they may certainly hope to retain much if they can secure the contentment and active cooperation of the people within their jurisdiction, in the administration of their own affairs. I think it is wrong of the Princes to let their critics say of their people that they are too backward to deserve freedom. It is a reflection on them. The people in the States belong to the same stock as those outside their borders. The Princes can lose nothing by being liberal. And they can lose every thing by holding on to their autocracy.

For my part I desire not abolition, but con-

version of their autocracy into trusteeship, not in name but in reality. The arbitrary powers they enjoy should go. The liberty of the people should not depend upon the will of an individual however noble and ancient may be his descent. Nor can any person, whether prince or a princely zamindar or merchant, be the sole owner and disposer of possessions hereditary or self-acquired. Every individual must have the fullest liberty to use his talents consistently with equal use by his neighbours but no one is entitled to the arbitrary use of the gains from the talents. He is part of the nation or say the social structure surrounding him. Therefore he can only use his talents not for self only but for the social structure of which he is but a part and on whose sufferance he lives. The present inequalities are surely due to people's ignorance. With a growing knowledge of their natural strength, the inequalities must disappear. If the revolution is brought about by violence the position will be reversed, but not altered for the better. With non-violence, i. e. conversion the new era which people hope for must be born. My approach and appeal are in terms of non-violence pure and undefiled. The French have a noble motto in Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. It is a heritage not for the French only but for all mankind.

What the French never realised it is open to us to do. Will the Princes and the princely landholders and merchants take the lead? It is for them to take the lead, not for the 'have-nots', who have nothing to share with anybody except their pauperism and abjectness. I am addressing weekly appeals to the British Power. They are made exactly in the same friendly spirit as this is. The British may not respond. If the 'haves', who are in fact the pillars on which the mighty British Power rests, can realise their obvious duty, the British Power must yield. It was because I had despaired of response from the pillars, that I have thought of moving the masses on whom the pillars rest. I may not leave a single stone unturned to avoid, if I can, what is undoubtedly a great risk. Hence this appeal.

Sevagram, 27-7-'42

Notes

Urdu Examination

The Hindustani Prachar Sabha has begun its work in right earnest. It is purely a body of workers who believe in the message and mission of the Sabha. The message is that the national language of India is not English but Hindustani i. e. Hindi plus Urdu. Shri Purushottamdas Tandan who is the soul of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was the author of the Congress resolution on Hindustani. It was he who made it crystal clear to me that Hindustani at present must mean Hindi plus Urdu. Every one who attends Congress meetings realises this truth for when a congressman speaks in Hindi the Urdu speaking men do not fully understand him if at all and the same thing applies to Urdu speakers. Therefore if you wish to be understood by all, you have to speak a combination of the two as I have heard Malaviyaji and Babu Bhagwandas doing. Hence the necessity of Indian nationalists speaking both the varieties of Hindustani speech. No one may be said to speak Hindustani who is not equally at home with both the varieties. Hence the necessity also of their knowing equally well both the scripts. To supply this felt want is one of the main causes of founding the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. Its founders were and are members of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. But their ambition was not satisfied with mere Hindi propaganda. Therefore with the approval of the Sammelan, they have founded the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. Naturally the Sabha's first act should be to induce all the Hindi knowing persons to learn Urdu and to provide facilities for them. To this end I am in communication with Maulana Abdul Haq Saheb, the learned secretary of the Anjuman Taraqui-e-Urdu for help and guidance. The council of the Sabha has decided to hold the first examination in Urdu on the 22nd November. The particulars including the syllabus will be published as soon as possible. Those who would appear for this examination are requested to send in their names to Acharya Shriman Narayan Agarval, Hindustani Prachar Office, Wardha. I hope that all those who have passed the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan examinations will be eager to pass the forthcoming Urdu examination. Of course those who do not know Hindi would also be welcome. A knowledge of any language at any time enriches one's mind and enables one to cultivate closer contact with the people who speak that language. How much more valuable must a knowledge of Urdu be to the one who knows Hindi only, as that of Hindi must be to the one who knows Urdu only? If living Hindustani is to come into being it can only be through a natural and happy fusion of the two. Such a fusion is impossible without a large number of persons having an equal command over both the sister languages.

Sevagram, 27-7-'42

M. K. G.

* Medium of Instruction *

This brochure is an appeal addressed to those in charge of the educational policy of the Government, Vice Chancellors of Universities and other Indian educationists to consider seriously whether

* By Principal S. N. Agarval, Kitabistan, Price As. 12

it is not time to make a radical change in the present system of education which makes English the medium of education. It may be described as a commentary on Gandhiji's well-known text: "The foreign medium has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils. It has estranged them from the masses; it has made education unnecessarily expensive." He has examined the blighting effect from all points of view, dealt with the arguments of those who will stick to the foreign medium, suggested solutions of the difficulties often advanced by those who agree that the mother tongue alone should be the medium of instruction. Shri Agarval has established the proposition that no tinkering will do, the policy of having the provincial languages as the media of instruction up to the highest class in the Universities should be definitely adopted, and serious efforts—similar to those made by the Osmania University—should be made to carry out the policy. He has made some practical suggestions for the transitional stage, and appealed to those in charge of the education of our boys and girls to help in freeing the country of the tyranny of the English language. Those who do not know it, may know from this booklet that distinguished educationists like Sadler, Abbot and Wood are among those who have recognised the blighting effect of a foreign medium and that the insistence on the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is not just one of the favourite fads of Gandhiji. To use Brailsford's words, the only worthy medium is "the language that we use at our mothers' knees, the language of our first prayers and our first outbursts of joy or grief. To make any other the vehicle of education is not merely to add immeasurably to the pupil's labours; it is to lame his mind in its freedom of movement."

A Muslim Marriage in Sevagram

When we were at Sabarmati Gandhiji gave away many Ashram girls in marriage, among whom were two Muslim girls. But there was nothing very noteworthy about the event, inasmuch they were Ashram girls and daughters of a much-mourned Muslim member of the Ashram, the late Imam Saheb Abdul Kadar Bawazir. Many Hindus not belonging to the Ashram have since celebrated the weddings of their boys or girls under the auspices of the Ashram, in order to set others an example in simplicity, solemnity and inexpensiveness. But on Sunday last we had the first case of a non-Ashramite Muslim wedding performed in the Ashram. The bride was Dr. Shireen Kazi, M. B. B. S., and the bridegroom was Dr. Yusoof, M. B. B. S. Until four years ago we did not know Dr. Shireen. But when Dr. Sushila who was in charge of our dispensary went on leave for a month or two, Dr. Shireen who had been her classmate at Lady Hardinge College voluntarily offered to serve in her place. She has been since an Assistant Surgeon in various Civil Hospitals, but her bond of attachment to the Ashram has become stronger with the years, and when one fine morning she came and announced to Gandhiji that she was engaged and that he must give her away in marriage as her father had recently passed away,

Gandhiji readily agreed. Both the bride and the bridegroom wore the simplest possible khadi dress, the ceremony which took hardly ten minutes was incredibly simple, a small but distinguished gathering of Muslim and Hindu friends from Wardha were present to bless the couple and Gandhiji had the satisfaction of having fulfilled the wishes of one who looks upon him as her father.

The details of the ceremony according to Muslim Law having been gone through, the signatures of the bride and bridegroom were taken on the register together with those of five witnesses, Gandhiji being one. He signed his name in Urdu. Then followed the appropriate verses from the Holy Quran, ending with the *Fateha* recited in silence by the Muslim friends present. Among those present were besides the Ashramites the relatives of the couple, Shrimati Janaki Devi, Ansarisaheb and Hassansaheb (Advocate and Barrister, Wardha) the Civil Surgeon, the Sessions Judge, and many other officials.

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Five Questions By a Harijan M. L. A.

Q. 1. What will be the position of the Harijans in the future constitution to be framed?

2. Will you advise the Government and the Congress to agree to fix the seats from a Panchayat Board upwards to the State Council on population basis?

3. Will you advise the Congress and the leaders of the various majority parties in the legislatures in the provinces to nominate the cabinet members from among the Scheduled caste legislators who enjoy the confidence of the majority of Scheduled caste members?

4. In view of the backwardness of the Harijans will you advise the Government to make a provision in the Act that executive posts in the Local Boards and Municipal Councils be held on communal rotation so as to enable the Harijans to become presidents and chairmen?

5. Why do you not fix some percentage of seats for Harijans from District Congress Committee upwards to the Working Committee of the Congress?

A. 1. The constitution which I could influence would contain a provision making the observance of untouchability in any shape or form an offence. The so-called 'untouchables' would have seats reserved for them in all elected bodies according to their population within the electoral area concerned.

2. You will see that the answer is covered by the foregoing.

3. I cannot. The principle is dangerous. Protection of its neglected classes should not be carried to an extent which will harm them and harm the country. A cabinet minister should be a topmost man commanding universal confidence. A person after he has secured a seat in an elected body should depend upon his intrinsic merit and popularity to secure coveted positions.

4. In the first place I am not interested in the present Act which is as good as dead. But I am opposed to your proposal on the ground already mentioned.

5. I am opposed for the reasons mentioned. But I should like to compel large elective Congress organisations to ensure the election of Harijan members

in proportion to their numbers on the Congress register. If Harijans are not interested enough in the Congress to become 4 anna members, they may not expect to find their names in elective bodies. But I would strongly advise Congress workers to see that they approach Harijans and induce them to become members of the Congress.

Sevagram, 19-7-'42

NO REAL SCARCITY

On the 22nd inst., Shri Sitaram Sastri saw the Collector of Salt Revenue and Customs at Madras, in connection with the Salt concession under the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, on behalf of the poor people living on the coast in the Guntur district. He appealed to the Collector to permit people to collect the salt naturally formed in the pools on the coast on these among other grounds:

1. That the rains had not set in and the poor people had no means.

2. That the prices of all foodstuffs had gone up from 30 to 200 per cent during the last year.

3. That the poor may be allowed to collect natural salt, as they are asked to grow more food.

4. That they may be permitted to collect only for domestic consumption, if not for sale.

The Collector gave him a patient hearing but replied that the two months' period which was fixed in consultation with the Congress Government had expired and he could not extend it. No wonder he could not give a better reply as a Government communique says that there is no salt shortage at all, that "temporary shortage may occur now and then on a local scale owing to difficulties of transport arising from war time conditions, but this cannot be entirely avoided"; and as for collection of salt on the sea coast, the communique complacently says:

"A suggestion has been made that the collection and preparation of salt on the sea coast and in inland areas may be freely permitted and that there should be no duty on salt so produced. The present position is that salt may be manufactured or collected only for domestic use or for sale within the village of manufacture or collection.

"In judging the value of the suggestions made for extending the scope of this concession, it should be remembered that there is no real scarcity in the country, that the present sources of supply are sufficient and permission, if given, for free manufacture and sale would lead to wholesale evasion of duty and consequent loss to the salt revenue."

The Government of India are better aware of the condition of the poor people than the actual workers working amongst them, and the loss of salt revenue will indeed be very great if a few thousand people were allowed to collect salt for domestic purposes for a little while longer! The inhumanity of this is patent, when one remembers that large quantities of valuable salt worth thousands of rupees will be allowed to be washed away by the rains or covered up with mud, but it may not be touched by the poor people. In this and similar cases workers are always advised to negotiate with the officials and plead with them for the poor. But the result leaves them no option but to advise the people to yield to dire necessity.

Sevagram, 27-7-'42

M. D.

HARIJAN

August 2

1942

A PLEA FOR REASON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The chorus of indignation from Great Britain and America with which the Working Committee resolution on the contemplated mass action has been greeted and the veiled or open threats which it has hurled at the Congress will not deter the Congress from its purpose. Hitherto it has thriven on opposition and attempts at suppression. It will not be otherwise this time. The suppression, of which perhaps the hysterical outburst in America and Great Britain is a precursor, may cow down the people for the moment but it will never put out the light of revolt once it has been lighted.

The *Daily Herald* and the Labour party have excelled all other critics in exaggeration and abuse. How nice it would have been if they had taken the trouble to understand the Congress demand.

The justice of the demand for the ending of British Power has never been questioned, the moment chosen for enforcing it is the target of attack. It is clear as crystal in the Working Committee resolution, why this moment is chosen. Let me paraphrase it. India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it is so and, what is more, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, nay, a decisive part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know, that if India does not become free *now*, the hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese, should they effect a landing. We feel that such an event would be a calamity of the first magnitude. We can avoid it if India gains her freedom. To distrust this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster.

But the critics say, "To whom are the British rulers to hand the keys on their withdrawal?" It is a good question. Here is what Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President has said: "The Congress always stands, firstly for sympathy towards democratic countries, secondly, never desires to embarrass Britain and war efforts, and, thirdly it stands for opposition to the Japanese aggression. The Congress does not desire to take power for itself but for all. If real power is handed over to the Congress, surely it will approach other parties and will persuade them to join." The Congress President added that he "had no objection to Britain handing over power to the Muslim League or any other party provided it was real independence. That party will have to approach other parties as no single party can function properly without the cooperation of other parties."

The only thing needful is to hand over complete control without reservation save that during

the war period the Allied troops will operate to stem Japanese or Axis attack. But they will have no power of interference with the affairs of India which will be as free as Great Britain herself.

Surely, there is nothing here to cavil at for anyone. That party or a combination which takes over control of India will have to look to the remaining parties for its retention of power. There is no hope of the parties coming together so long as they have to look not to one another but to an outsider for support and sustenance. Not one of the Viceroy's numerous Indian councillors are dependent upon anybody but the Viceroy for the positions they hold. How can the great or small representative parties operate without mutual support? In a free India even the Congress could not function efficiently for a day without the support of the smallest party. For in a free India, at least for some time to come, even the strongest party will have no military backing. There will be no military to back. There will only be raw police in the first stage unless the existing police will serve the National Government on its terms. But the support, such as it may be, that Free India will be able to render to the Allied cause, will be of a sterling character. Its possibilities will be limitless and there will be no motive left for welcoming Japanese arms. On the contrary, they will then look to the Allied arms to repel any Japanese or other attack, unless all India has by then become non-violent. In any case, the Allied arms are there today and tomorrow and till the end of the war whether they are needed for India's protection or not.

If this presentation of the implications of the Congress demand is not appreciated by the Allies' press or the Allies themselves, Indian public men should be forgiven if they doubt the sincerity of the fierce opposition which is being organised with ominous unanimity. The latter can only stiffen India's suspicion and resistance.

Sevagram, 26-7-'42

'Khadi Jagat'

A long-felt want of a central All India Khadi Magazine was satisfied when the 'Khadi Jagat', a Hindi monthly began to be published exactly a year ago by the A. I. S. A., Wardha. It is the medium to disseminate information relating to all khadi activities throughout India and it is serving as the organ of all engaged in elevating the manufacture of khadi to the 'status of a science and art. It therefore contains articles on khadi in all its technical aspects, besides articles by Gandhiji on the social, economic and philosophical aspects of khadi. Statistical information regarding progress of production and sale of khadi through out the country are periodically published in it. The annual subscription has had to be raised from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- from this year on account of the increased cost of hand-made paper on which it is printed, as also the increase in the cost of printing.

M. D.

THE FIRST VICTIM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Satischandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan has been arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for disobedience of an order under 26 (1) of the Defence of India Rules. His offence consisted in advising distressed people not to move from their places unless provided with an equivalent. This procedure was in strict accord with my writings in *Harijan* and the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

There is no doubt that Satis Babu's breach was deliberate. It was broken at the dictates of humanity as will be clear from his letter to the District Magistrate printed elsewhere. Satis Babu and his men have worked for years in these parts and distributed thousands of rupees among the spinners and weavers. Satis Babu's letter shows that the grievance is real. A great War claimed to be for the emancipation of the human mind and human body cannot be won by the suppression of those whose willing association is desired and desirable. The masses of India are undoubtedly steeped in ignorance. They are meek and regarded by historians as the gentlest on earth. They are easily led. They follow the guidance of their leaders. Hence the proper way to deal with them is to deal with the leaders.

Leaders are of two kinds: self-styled, who become leaders to exploit them, and those who become leaders by right of service. They are the trusted ones. It is quite easy to distinguish between the two species. It is wrong to tear these latter from their men.

Satis Babu belongs to the second category. He is no politician, though he knows politics. He is a businessman. He is one of the favourite pupils of Acharya Ray, the distinguished scientist and life-philanthropist, who never earned a pie for himself. Satis Babu is one of the makers of the famous Bengal Chemical Works — one of Acharya Ray's many creations. He gave up the Chemical Works of which he was the manager on a high salary. He took up Khadi and became a poor man. His partner in his joys and sorrows followed him heart and soul in his austere life, and so did his brother and promising sons, one of whom died while he was serving. His brother Shri Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta is also a chemist, and has dedicated himself to the Khadi Pratisthan, giving all his time and energy to handicrafts like bee-keeping, paper-making, and so on. Satis Babu deprived his sons of the high education he had himself taken. He threw himself into his new work with such great energy that he became an expert in Khadi work and built up Khadi Pratisthan, which has become a great centre of philanthropic activities. Satis Babu is one of the truest and gentlest of men, I have had the privilege of working with. He tries with all his might to live up to the message of truth and non-violence which he accepted not as a political expedient but as a rule of life. If this country was not ruled by the law of exploitation on behalf of its conquerors but by

popular representatives, men like Satis Babu would be much in demand by those in authority in times of need. This is a time of great need. But all the use the authorities have for him is to punish him for the breach of their laws which express not the will of the nation but of one man whose rule is imposed upon them. Satis Babu has kindled a light which will not be extinguished. The law is wrong, Satis Babu the servant of his people is right.

Sevagram, 24-7-'42

'GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY'

Reference has been made in Gandhiji's article "*The First Victim*" to the order served under the Defence of India Rules on Shri Satisbabu. The District Magistrate's order dated 19th July ordered him not to remain in Noakhali district, 'with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of war and to the maintenance of public order.' How he was acting in this 'prejudicial manner' will be vividly seen from the letter he addressed to the District Magistrate in reply to the order! That Satis Babu is gentleness itself will be evident from the letter which also reveals how terribly real was the grievance, how urgently relief was needed, and how it would have been a dereliction of duty on his part to leave the poor peasants in the lurch. Here is the text of Satis Babu's letter, addressed to the District Magistrate, from the Evacuee Relief Office, Sahadebpur, Feni, Dist. Noakhali:

"Sir,

"I have received the order served on me to leave this district in 24 hours. I beg most respectfully to inform you that I propose to disobey this order. I would like to explain to you the circumstances which force me to take this serious step.

"I have been working personally amongst the poor people of Feni, for over a year. The Khadi Pratisthan has been working here for many years. But it is only the year before last that I took up Feni as a special field of my personal service. When the last Satyagraha movement was started by Gandhiji he desired me to stay outside of it and devote myself exclusively to rural reconstruction. I have been doing the work at Feni.

"Then came the evacuation order on 35 villages of Feni on the 1st of April. After the evacuation was completed I saw the distress of the people and decided to devote all my time to their service. I organised medical relief for them and treated 200 cases of cholera of a virulent type with great success, the death rate being only 10 to 12 p. c.

"I met Mr. J. N. Moitra, the S. D. O. on two occasions when he was pleased to call at our place at Munshirhat in connection with evacuation matters. I earnestly requested him to consider the great distress that had come to the people. I then sent him seven points of demand which I drafted on behalf of the evacuees. I sent a copy of that letter to you also on the 25th April.

"I followed up the matter at Calcutta, believing that the provisions for compensation for evacuees was an all Bengal matter. I tried to induce the Revenue

Department to frame a general policy for the whole of Bengal. Mr. P. N. Bannerjee, the Revenue Minister and Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., Secretary, Revenue Department, were pleased to accept the demand for increased rate for hut construction. And for the rest, Mr. Bannerjee expressed his desire to consult the India Government.

"Later on I wrote to Mr. Bannerjee that the Behar Government was paying 115 p. c. for crop value of evacuated land as against the proposed 60 p. c. as at Feni. He wrote back very kindly. But in spite of all the kindness that I received from the Ministers and the Officials, I found that my case remained where it was. This forced me to come to the conclusion that the people must take up voluntary suffering on themselves to get justice from the Government, in this instance.

I came to Feni on the 16th instant and at the time had no knowledge that fresh evacuation was in progress. People affected by the evacuation came to me. My advice to them would have been to refuse the evacuation conditionally. But in this case I found that they had already come to the same conclusion after having seen the conditions of the people who had left their homes in April. I formulated the demands for those who called on me and made it possible for them to voice their demands through a petition to the S. D. O. They have since sent their demands to the S. D. O.

"I never entered Feni town before. I do not even today know any of the important people of Feni. I came three days ago. I am housed in a jungly suburb, very difficult of approach. I did not stir out of this home of mine except only on one occasion when at a call from some people I went to Barahipur to explain the procedure about the petition. Yet I find today all the villages under notice in Charipur, Barahipur, Sultanpur, Majlispur, Dharampur etc., firm in their resolve not to evacuate till their demands are met. I could not have accomplished this miraculous thing. I see God's hand in it and I believe that this unanimity on the part of the people to suffer, rather than submit to the order, is due to the experience of the people regarding the working of evacuation at Feni, enacted before their eyes during these four months.

"I came to serve these people. My scheme was to help them, as cases of families going without their meals were reported to me. Many were suffering from diseases. I proposed to help them by advice on evacuation matter also. How can I leave this place willingly? The Government must take the responsibility of removing me from this field of service.

"I beg therefore, most respectfully to inform you that I cannot obey the order served on me for leaving the district, and request you to deal with me as you may be pleased to do.

"I shall hope that the cause with which I identified myself these four months, will receive greater consideration from the Government after my absence in jail, than I could get for it by staying outside. I leave the work in the hands of God and the public."

In order to give an even better idea of the conditions in the villages which Satis Babu had gone to succour, a few extracts may be given from a letter written on the eve of his arrest:

"I have a few more hours left before I am taken

in custody. I am enclosing a letter which I have addressed to the District Magistrate in refusing to obey his order to leave the district. These four days have been startlingly eventful. I came unprepared for the present evacuation order. Streams of people began coming to me day and night — both, those who had evacuation orders, and those who had already evacuated.

"The evacuated people have practically been ruined. Old men — old educated Mahomedan gentlemen — came to me, blessed me and with tears in their eyes narrated their tales of sorrow. They were driven out or had to vacate on short notice. They were assured that their belongings would be kept safe by the Government in the abandoned houses. They have been passing a life of penury, harrowed by want of shelter and want of treatment in disease, while they are seeing that their old houses are broken into and all property looted or destroyed without any prospect of recovery of the value. Villages, good many of them, were evacuated practically wantonly for no soldiers were located there. These villages were simply pillaged by robbers. The representations of the people drew no response from the authorities.

"One rich man, left his home taking with him Rs. 10,000/- in cash and jewellery. He had no place to keep this in safe custody. Dacoits came and looted this cash etc., The property he left at home was similarly looted while under Government care. The man was worth Rs. 40,000/- to Rs. 50,000/-. Now he is a beggar. It looks as if Feni has been under a devastating revolution although what you call the 'ordered anarchy' was operating. The people are swearing at Government in impotent rage.

"The villages under present notice have been visited by the Government officials. They are constantly motoring in the villages, offering plenty of cash to any evacuee who would care to receive it. Where they were prepared to pay only Rs. 25/- for house construction, they have been offering now Rs. 90 to Rs. 300/- to stray people to break the morale of the resisters.

"19th was the last date of evacuation, and no one evacuated on the 19th. Only 3 days ago there were no signs of resistance and now in 3 days from the richest to the poorest in 5 or 6 villages they have only one reply to the Government: 'Meet our demands fully and we shall evacuate after the rains if you help house construction, but not before.'"

Sevagram, 24-7-'42

M. D.

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FREE INDIA-A MILITARY NECESSITY

Years ago Gandhiji vividly described the supporters of the British rule in India as a political freemasonry. The way in which the cry of 'chaos' and 'anarchy' and invitation to the Axis Powers has been taken up by the British and American press in unison shows that there is in existence a much more formidable corporation which may be called the Empire Freemasonry against which the aspirants for a free India have to contend.

Some of the papers have forgotten their earlier professions and worked themselves up into a frenzied belief that a free and friendly India would be a greater menace to the Allied cause than a subject and hostile India. The *New York Times* thinks that Gandhiji may 'do more harm to his people than Genghis Khan or any other of the long array of conquerors.' When one thinks of the stationing and operating of the Allied troops in India which the Congress demand postulates, one cannot help saying that in making an extraordinary statement of this kind the paper is hurling a gross insult at the British and American troops! That however in joining the hue and cry of the British papers, this American paper is belying its own earlier professions will be apparent from an article which appeared prominently in its columns in February this year. Let us summarise here that important article.

It was a specially featured two-page article by the distinguished Chinese writer Lin Yutang. This article was a warning to the Allies against defective strategy, and against their indifference in giving to the Asiatics something to fight for. "Incredible human blunders are supposed to be committed only in history, by dead and not by living statesmen." "I maintain" says Lin Yutang, "that living statesmen can also commit blunders, though in the telling of it we are deprived of a fine sense of historical regret. Shall we leave the historians of the future the exquisite pleasure of pointing out that in the first two months of the Pacific war the leaders of the Western democracies committed a greater number of basic costly blunders than any statesmen ever committed in the same period?"

One of those 'statesmen' he mentions by name. "The British Secretary of State for India, L. S. Amery," he says, "*showed no apprehension of the military necessity of giving the Indians something to fight for in this war, and discussed the whole Indian situation as leisurely, complacently, and imperturbably as if England and the United States without the support of the Asiatics could hold Japan in Asia.*" (Italics mine.)

Why was Malay lost? The answer has been given by various people. Let us hear Lin Yutang. "What surprised me in the Malay campaign was not that the enemy was able to land behind the line, but that he could penetrate two to three hundred miles without running out of food. He could not possibly have carried all his food for the last two months; he must have got it from the Malay natives. Hence we see the validity of the criticism of the Malay campaign by a Chungking

paper, that Allied failure there was due to two things: failure to carry out the scorched earth policy and lack of mobilization of the people or cooperation between the natives and the army. The British forces also failed to leave soldiers behind the enemy line, either to cut their communications or to harass them from behind."

Then he makes the next point. No policy of *self-ruin* can succeed unless it is backed by the conviction that the people have something to fight and die for. "It is easy to talk of the scorched earth policy; it is not easy to see your homestead go up in flames and not grumble, much less to set fire upon it yourself cheerfully. In other words, for success of this kind, *the war must be a popular war, a war of the people by the people, and for the people.*" (Italics mine.)

"The role of India is coming to the fore," he adds, "and this fact must be faced, or we might yet lose the war in Asia. A tremendous difference in the war morale of the Asiatics, particularly in the war efforts of India, hangs upon the vision of the leaders of the Western democracies and their ability to tell the Indians, in more convincing terms than vague promises and unctuous sops of praise, *that they have something deep and elementary to fight for. Real creative statesmanship should see this point. No sidestepping of this issue of India's freedom will avail.* . . . The position of India in this war is similar to that of Eire. Both India and Ireland dislike and fear the Nazis, yet with both the war is not yet a popular war. The only difference is that Eire is still smarting after she has regained her freedom, whereas India is smarting because she hasn't got it. India's demand for freedom has been poohpoohed by both Chamberlain and Churchill and sidestepped as a trivial, inconsequential issue. This is in spite of the fact that *Churchill knows* India today possesses the leadership and unity and party organisation as vital as China's, *that will change the entire picture of India's war efforts, once she is granted freedom.*" (Italics mine)

Lin Yutang next rates Mr. Churchill's shortsightedness in excluding India from the Atlantic Charter, and questions the Allies' sincerity. "Refusal to face this issue — of India's freedom — deliberately plays into the hands of Japanese propaganda of 'Asia for the Asiatics', and of Lord Haw-Haw in Berlin. *Certainly we cannot be fighting the war for democracy and liberty west of Suez and a war of colonies and vested interests east of Suez. Are we sincere with ourselves? American sense of justice cannot ignore this and should have the courage of its convictions.* (Italics mine) . . . Can any one see the somewhat comical situation of Indians fighting to preserve the British Empire, which through the mouth of its Prime Minister, has just denied them the Atlantic Charter?"

But the American papers are giving a sorry demonstration of their utter lack of sense of justice and courage, and what is more, as Lin Yutang has pointed out, the blindness to see that the freedom of India is a crying military necessity: "They must

achieve superiority of numbers by planning and calling for the support of Asia's millions. . . . Somewhere a front will be established where the terrain will favour the defenders and where millions of barefoot soldiers with nothing but machine-guns, rifles and hand-grenades, will keep Japan very busy for years until we are ready for the knock-out blow. Asia can do this and will do this only if it is promised freedom, only if the Atlantic Charter applies to them as to the white people."

The difference now is this that a mere application of the Atlantic Charter, a mere promise of freedom, will fall flat. India cannot be moved except by the actual genuine article.

Sevagram, 23-7-'42

M. D.

DEATH AS A FORCE OF LIFE

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

The idea of fasting as a method of non-violent resistance raises the question of the place of death in Life. We ordinarily feel that life is indetical with 'living', that is with the functioning of the body; and death is its disintegration, and the end of all life's pleasures and worries, successes and failures. Also, that life is light and death is darkness. Consequently we instinctively and with an almost infatuous love cling to the functioning state of the body, and are mightily afraid of its disintegration. This is also the reason for every religion tabooing suicide under every circumstance and not permitting killing even on absolutely benevolent grounds. When we begin to think a little further we believe that life, which we call 'soul' or 'spirit'—meaning thereby individuality—is immortal and will persist after the disintegration of the body. Then we raise before our imagination various pictures of individual life after death. This belief is in the centre of all religious philosophy. The faith in re-birth and in the day of judgment and the various descriptions of heaven and hell are all based on the belief that there is a continuance of individuality after death. If for any reason the belief in this aspect of life is shaken—as it has been with many in the present age—there is a reversion to the first belief that life ends with death, and so while it exists, it may be exploited, to one's heart's content for the most obvious purpose, namely, sensual happiness and material ends.

I invite the reader to think of Life a little more deeply. He does not need to imagine or assume anything, but to proceed upon his observations and personal experiences only. From the most uncivilised aborigines to the most learned philosopher, every one has observed in others as well as felt in himself an interest in this world which extends beyond his personal death. One man wants to see himself perpetuated through his progeny; another not having a child of his own, wants to feel that satisfaction through adoption; a third desires to perpetuate his name through charity; a fourth through his scholarship or art; a fifth through heroic deeds; a sixth through founding institutions, which will spread light and comfort in the world for ages after his

death; a seventh while through his teachings he denounces all such desires as folly and likens the world to a mirage, nevertheless founds schools, which will teach that doctrine from generation to generation. The inference is that it is an instinct which adverse philosophy cannot eradicate and which is traceable through life in every form. The reason is obvious. It is based on the intuitive realisation of a great truth. In his mind of minds man—not to speak of other beings—experiences Life as a subtle and more universal and more durable existence than mere holding together the body. It operates in this very universe known through our senses. No doubt, while the body functions, man feels interested in its comforts, environments and prolongation; but his realisation of and consequent interest in the impersonal and universal Life is still greater. He yearns to leave something behind for the surviving and the yet unborn world; and, further, he is anxious that that something must be *good* and not evil,—of course, according to *his* notions of good and evil. None wants anything evil of him to survive him.

Betterment and elevation of the larger Life—to the extent each one perceives the largeness—is, except perhaps in very rare cases, an intuitive effort of every living being. Every one knows that howsoever he may succeed in prolonging the functioning of his body, that machine has some day to fall to pieces. But he knows that he is only an infinitesimal factor of the Life which expresses itself through all organisms and persists through and survives all deaths. That is why he feels immensely interested in its future. It is that larger Life, which every one really wants to mould and develop, though unthinkingly he may believe and seem to act as if he was not concerned with anything beyond his personal ambitions and happiness.

This larger and real Life is as much moulded through the functioning of the body as through its disintegration. For instance, a body which has become incapable of properly functioning—as that of an extremely disabled and aged person or an imbecile—is not only burdensome to its possessor, but also hampers the course of life around it. His death, even if it momentarily causes sorrow and disturbs several arrangements, in effect relieves him as well as the life around him. This happens even when death is, involuntary or, as it is called, 'through natural causes'. The results of enforced deaths are even more obvious; otherwise murders and wars would never take place. Living beings are killed; because rightly or wrongly, it is felt that the life of the survivors will be better moulded through the death rather than through the functioning of the bodies of the killed ones. Who will deny that, if, for instance, by some chance any of the principal actors of the war were to die suddenly, it—though taken by itself just a phenomenon of every day occurrence—may suddenly bring about far greater changes in Life than all the battles of this war put together. Similarly, voluntary death also

is and can become as potent a factor in the elevation of life as the activity of living bodies. Nay, there are times, when the force of death may be more effective than the force of even intelligent and intense activity of a live beings. The death in such case seems to release some latent energy which, while the body functioned could not succeed in spite of its efforts, but which, within a short-time after its disintegration removes the impediment, which blocked progress.

Though this service of Death is not noticed at the time it takes place with the result that it casts a gloom over all those who loved the deceased, by and by it is recognised that ten years of further functioning may not have done that which death has done. The changes in the course of human life brought about by the resigned submission to death of Christ and his apostles and of the several Sikh Gurus, and the voluntary self-immolation of Telemachus are but a few instances of the immense power which Death is capable of generating for elevating Life.

So, objectively considered, Death is as much a moulder of Life as the living state itself. When one discovers that for whatever reason, live energy is incapable of functioning effectively or fails to create appropriate energy in the surrounding life, and such energy is necessary for its elevation, it may become a duty to voluntarily invite death. The step is not, or need not be, based on any prospect of imaginary personal gain—as salvation or a place in heaven. It is just an operation as any other bodily operation, an incision of a boil, for instance. It arises out of a realisation of one's identity with larger Life.

Centuries of enslavement has made life in India as dark as death itself is supposed to be. No hardship, no insult, no impending danger is strong enough to heat our blood and arouse us to manly action. We live a living death. It is possible, that the revolution which embodied energy is unable to bring about needs the energy of death, voluntarily invited by a member of the best of her children. Of course, in order that it should become a power, it has to be considered in terms of deliberate action or, as it is called, a 'technique' of non-violence, and not as bravado or an act of sheer despair. According to this view of death suicide under appropriate circumstances, takes the first place and not, as Gandhiji says, a tolerable place. Fasting will occupy an honourable place but not that of honour. Sevagram, 25-7-'42

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'FIRE RAGING IN ME'

A journalist was on a visit here the other day, not in his capacity as a journalist, but as one interested in Gandhiji's movement and anxious to take his share in it. He was full of the happenings in his province, was ashamed of the way in which the press were carrying out every one of the orders issued to them, and more ashamed of the reasons why they willingly accepted these muzzling orders. "This war is an abominable business. It corrupts every one," he said. "Not only those who directly take part in it, but others too. In fact no one escapes its effects. It blunts our moral conscience. The profiteer does not care what happens to his country and its poor. Even the newspapers get enough business from Government and so feel that they must keep mum when they are told to do so."

He talked of the public feeling in his province. "It is more anti-British than pro-Japanese", he said. "There is a vague notion that we have had enough of this rule, and almost anything would be better than the existing state of things. People are happy when Subhas Babu says on the radio that there are no differences between him and you and when he says you are now out to fight for liberty at any cost."

"But I suppose you know that there he is wrong", said Gandhiji, "and I cannot possibly appropriate the compliments he is paying me. 'Liberty at any cost' has a vastly different connotation for me from what it has for him. 'At any cost' does not exist in my dictionary. It does not for instance include bringing in foreigners in order to help us win our liberty. I have no doubt that it means exchanging one form of slavery for another possibly much worse. But of course we have to fight for our liberty and make whatever sacrifice it demands. In spite of all the hypocrisy that you find in all the inspired press of Britain and America I do not relent. I deliberately use the word hypocrisy, for they are now proving that when they were talking of the freedom of India they did not mean it. So far as I am concerned I have no doubt about the righteousness of my step. It seems to me to be axiomatic that the Allies are in for a defeat this time if they will not do this initial act of justice, and thus put their own case on an unassailable basis. If they don't, they must face the opposition of those who cannot tolerate their rule and are prepared to die in order to get rid of it. Convert the deepening ill-will into good-will is a sound proposition. It is not open to them to say that we must smother our consciences and say or do nothing because there is war. That is why I have made up my mind that it would be a good thing if a million people were shot in a brave and non-violent rebellion against British rule. It may be that it may take us years before we can evolve order out of chaos. But we can then face the world, we cannot face the world today. Avowedly the different nations are fighting for their liberty. Germany, Japan, Russia, China are pouring their blood and money like water. What is our record? You talk of the newspapers doing good business out of the

war. It is a shame to be thus bought and to refrain from speaking out at Government's dictation. There is many a way of earning an honest crust of bread. If British money—which is our money—can buy us Heaven help our country."

"We are betraying a woeful cowardice," added Gandhiji. "I do not mind the blood-bath in which Europe is plunged. It is bad enough, but there is a great deal of heroism—mothers losing their only children, wives their husbands and so on. Lord Lytton's only son was killed the other day. British history is filled with such heroic sacrifice. It is not the criticism of the British and American press that worries me, but it is our press listening to the British Censor. If only to resist that awful atmosphere I must gird up my loins."

"I do not feel flattered when Subhas Babu says I am right. I am not right in the sense he means. For there he is attributing pro-Japanese feeling to me. If I were to discover that by some strange miscalculation I had not realised the fact that I was helping the entry of the Japanese in this country, I should not hesitate to retrace my steps. As regards the Japanese, I am certain that we should lay down our lives in order to resist them as we would to resist the British."

"But it won't be the work of human hands. It will be the work of a Force—incalculable and invisible—which works often upsetting all our calculations. I rely implicitly on it. Otherwise I should go mad in face of all this torrent of what I must call irritating criticism. They do not know my agony. I cannot express it except perhaps by dying."

Was there the slightest suspicion that he wished victory to the Axis' arms in order that the British may be humbled and their power in India may be destroyed? Gandhiji asked the friend to disabuse himself of any such notion. "Destruction of the British Power is not dependent on Japanese or German arms. If it depended on them, there would be nothing to be proud of, apart from the blight that would settle upon the world. But what matters to me is that I cannot be happy or proud if someone comes in and drives away my enemy. Where do I come in there? I cannot possibly enthuse over such a thing. I want to have the pleasure of having offered up my sacrifice for fighting the enemy in my own house. If I have not that strength I cannot prevent the other from coming in. Only I must find a middle path to prevent the new enemy coming in. I am sure God will help me to find the way."

"I do not mind honest, strong, healthy criticism. All the manufactured criticism that I find being made today is sheer tomfoolery, meant to overawe me and demoralise the Congress ranks. It is a foul game. They do not know the fire that is raging in my breast. I have no false notions of prestige, no personal considerations would make me take a step that I know is sure to plunge the country into a conflagration."

Sevagram, 25-7-'42

M. D.

IRELAND — A COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

Gandhiji has studied little history, and he does not believe in the oft-quoted saying 'history repeats itself'. But often enough his deeds and his words remind a student of history of what has happened in the past and when he is told about it he expresses agreeable surprise. Thus when I told him in 1919 that years ago a national struggle in Hungary was begun with a day of national fasting and prayer he expressed delighted surprise.

When we are on the threshold of perhaps the biggest movement in our history it would be interesting to recall some of the events of Irish history. Like India Ireland has had to fight a long—even longer—and weary battle against tyranny and oppression. Her struggle was not non-violent—no reflection upon her; it was a time-honoured method—and her suffering and sacrifice were in consequence far greater, no less than 117 of her patriots being shot or hanged between 1916 and 1923, apart from the thousands who were killed fighting guerilla battles. Ireland has an Ulster—it still has—thanks to the British Government. It was Lord Randolph Churchill who declared in 1886 that the Orange card was the card to play and prayed that it would turn up trumps, it was he who went to Belfast and gave the Orangemen their watchword: 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right.' Later Carson and Birkenhead were among those who instigated Ulster to violent rebellion, and it was Ulster that first formed a provisional government and even threatened to secure the aid of a foreign power against Republican Ireland. The Republic was proclaimed in 1916—while the First World War was going on—and a Republican Assembly was formed. It was with the rebel leaders of this party that the British Government opened negotiations for a peace in 1921, and a treaty was signed in December 1921. The civil strife in Ireland between 1921 and 1923 cannot be understood without this background. De Valera who had proclaimed the Irish Republic in 1916 felt that the Irish representatives had signed away Irish independence by putting their signatures to the treaty and also by accepting the dismemberment of Ireland.

India's has been throughout a non-violent struggle, and the Congress has never therefore proclaimed an Indian Republic. India too has its Ulster bolstered up sedulously by the British Government, and it has always been the Britishers' trump card. When these facts are borne in mind, much of what happened during the negotiations between De Valera and Lloyd George can be understood and will reveal a close resemblance to what is happening today. De Valera's words written in reply to General Smuts who pressed him to accept the British offer bear a close family likeness to Gandhiji's words: "*An Ireland in fragments nobody cares about. An unified Ireland alone can be happy or prosperous. To the British Commonwealth group and to Britain itself Ireland would readily become friendly, but it is only in freedom that friendship could come. To the principle of national self-determina-*

tion our people are devotedly attached, for they recognise in it a principle vital to the peace of the world. The Republic is the expression of that principle."

To the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, De Valera wrote on August 10th, 1921 a letter which contains words almost identical with the words Gandhiji is using today: "Ireland's right to choose for herself the path she shall take to realise her own destiny must be accepted as indefeasible. . . . As regards the question at issue between the political minority and the great majority of the Irish people, that must remain a question for the Irish people themselves to settle. *We cannot admit the right of the British Government to mutilate our country, either in its own interest or at the call of any section of our population. We do not contemplate the use of force. If your Government stands aside, we can effect a complete reconciliation. We agree with you 'that no common action can be secured by force'. . . . We have no conditions to impose, no claims to advance but the one, that we may be freed from aggression.*"

This appeal to the British Government to stand aside, so that they may effect a complete reconciliation is on a par with our demand for British withdrawal. De Valera had no alternative but to reiterate throughout those lengthy negotiations the acceptance of the Irish Republic. We have wisely formed no Republic, we simply ask that 'we be freed from aggression'.

There was no war in 1921, today there is a war, some one will remind us. But De Valera anticipated conditions of war, and said as Gandhiji says today guaranteeing the stationing of Allied troops: "True friendship with England can be obtained most readily now through amicable but absolute separation. The fear, groundless though we believe it to be, that Irish territory may be used as the basis for an attack upon England's liberties, can be met by reasonable guarantees not inconsistent with Irish sovereignty." Gandhiji not only promises reasonable guarantees but accepts the actual stationing of British troops and their operation from India as a military base. De Valera's letter similarly enters into these military details: "Mutual agreement for facilitating air communications, as well as railway and other communications, can, we feel certain, also be effected."

Again and again De Valera repeats the right of Ireland to be the judge of her own interest, as we claim on behalf of India: "An association that would be consistent with our right to see that we were the judges of what was our own interest, and that we were not compelled to leave the judgment of what were our own interests or not, to others." (Speech in the Dail.) To the people of the North of Ireland he would say "that for them we had no enmity, and that we would make sacrifices for them we would never think of making for Britain, because they are Irishmen living in Ireland."

For weeks and months there was a war of words between the British Prime Minister and the President of the Irish Republic. But later events proved that the discussion of the words 'association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British

Empire' was not mere quibbling. De Valera did want an official recognition by His Majesty's Government of 'the severance of Ireland from the Empire and of its existence as an independent republic.' Lloyd George would not brook this. This recognition, he said, would 'entitle you to declare as of right acknowledged by us that in preference to association with the British Empire you would pursue a closer association by treaty with some other foreign Power.' That contained, in brief, the reason of England's distrust and fear, though De Valera had left them in no doubt about it. Here Gandhiji has placed the whole thing beyond the possibility of any doubt by committing free India in advance to a treaty of full and voluntary cooperation with the Allies.

Without any committal on either side at last the Irish and British representatives met, having 'wiped the slate clean' as the *Morning Post* said. We know what was the result. De Valera had wiped the slate clean but not those who represented Ireland at the Peace Conference. Even they hesitated until the dread hour, and would not sign the treaty except when they were told that if they did not sign 'war would follow immediately'. England was already preparing for a breakdown, and the *Morning Post* contained an examination by General Sir Charles Callwell 'of the most economic and effective military methods of suppression which might be employed against the Irish.'

There was Civil War in which the British, as usual, played no mean part. They helped considerably in putting down the Republicans. But after some years of bloodshed and strife De Valera succeeded at last in creating Free Eire, without the Oath, without the Governor General, and with the full right to be neutral that she has enjoyed during the present war. Ulster no doubt is there, because the British have not withdrawn completely, because the British influence remained even after the unsatisfactory treaty of 1921. But De Valera has not lost hope, and he will never use force. "I am confident," he said, "that it is only a matter of time when somebody speaking from this bench will be able to announce to the whole Irish race that Ireland at last is a complete independent sovereign state."

Our non-violent fight for the withdrawal of the British Power has obvious advantages over the Irish struggle. Ours is a clear cut demand, it leaves no room for quibbling about 'association with the common wealth', and as we have no armed forces, like the Irish Republican Army, against which General Callwell had to make preparations, our non-violent fight will not put that strain on the Government either.

During the struggle the British papers, the *Times* and the *Daily Herald*, alike attacked Ireland. Their interests were alike, as their interests are alike today in India. But when the agreement with De Valera was signed in 1938 both papers agreed in acclaiming the settlement. "No British statesman," said the *Times* "who has studied the unhappy history of Anglo-Irish relations but must realise the importance of winning Irish good-will by avoiding all possible occasions of interference,

and more especially military interference in the affairs of a proud and tenacious people." The *Daily Herald* exclaimed, "Britain and Eire are at last free partners, bound together by common interest."

They may not see today, in their blind fury, that a free partnership, in the fullest sense of the term is being offered by India to England. But they may see it some day. Until then, however, there is nothing better in our lot than what De Valera offered to his own people: "Stern determination of a close-knit nation steeled to the acceptance of death rather than the abandonment of its rightful liberty."

Sevagram, 26-7-'42

M. D.

NO GUARANTEES CONTEMPLATED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

(Replies to questions by United Press, London).

Q. 1. Will you be satisfied by a joint guarantee by America, China and Soviet Russia?

A. No guarantee is contemplated by the Congress demand, because present delivery of Independence is the need of the hour, not because of distrust about future delivery but because India as an Independent Power wants to play, if it is at all possible, a decisive part in favour of the Allies. India today is becoming progressively hostile to the Allied Powers notwithstanding their ability to command recruits and the like. What is wanted is an enthusiastic response from a free and willing India. Many of us think that that is the indispensable condition of the success of Allied arms.

Q.2. What should be the nature of the provisional Government and who should be the possible members?

A. It is difficult to foresee what will happen when India is declared free but I imagine that any provisional Government to be stable in the absence of outside imposition can only be by the willing consent of different popular parties. This willing consent is impossible, so long as the third party is present to look up to for favours. The Congress President has already suggested that the Government may simultaneously with the declaration of Independence deliver their power to any of the organised popular parties including the Muslim League and the Congress. It will be up to the deliverer to compose with the remaining parties in order to secure stability, because in free India Government must depend wholly upon the willing consent of the people. It should be remembered that all the time that free India Government is functioning the Allied troops will carry on their operations without let or hindrance, subject to the treaty that will be negotiated between free India Government and the Allied Powers.

Q. 3. How do you hope to avert anarchy during the transitional period?

A. The anarchy is automatically averted if a provisional Government is formed, which will be the case under the Congress President's suggestion.

Q. 4. Will you accept a joint guarantee by the Socialist and Liberal parties of England for Indian independence?

A. Reply to this is contained in reply to the first. Sevagram, 28-7-'42

HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA

An Appeal

There can be no two opinions regarding the desirability of having a national language for India. It is also patent that this language cannot be English. Our Rashtrabhasha must be of indigenous origin. The Congress has called our national language Hindustani which means simple Hindi and simple Urdu. Unfortunately, the two streams of Hindustani, i. e. Hindi and Urdu, have been drifting apart, and it is the duty of national workers to direct their energies towards bringing the two nearer each other. This cannot be achieved by means of lengthy discussions and pious resolutions; it is desirable that a good number of people in this country should strive to learn both Hindi and Urdu. By learning both the styles and scripts, it will be possible to bridge the gaping gulf between the two drifting streams and Hindustani will gradually develop into a rich and powerful language. With this end in view, Hindustani Prachar Sabha has been started at Wardha. The Sabha will carry on propaganda for both Hindi and Urdu in the whole country. Dr. Rajendra Prasad is its President and Mahatma Gandhi, the Vice-President. Only those who know or are willing to learn both Hindi and Urdu can be the members of the Sabha. It has not been started in opposition to the existing Hindi or Urdu societies; the Sabha is meant to coordinate and supplement their activities.

We ardently hope that the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be able to solve to a considerable extent the tangled problem of Hindi and Urdu. We, therefore, expect people of all communities to take active interest in this work and lend us a helping hand. Those who wish to secure fuller information about the Sabha and become its members should please correspond with the undersigned.

Shriman Narayan Agarval

Wardha, 23rd July '42

Secretary

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